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ABSTRACT

The three purposes of a literature review were to (1) document factors relating to the underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration, (2) establish a sound data base for dissemination, and (3) encourage other project and program work toward attaining sex equity in vocational education administration. Ten interpersonal factors and five organizational factors were identified and examined. Although no one factor could be cited as solely responsible, the literature clearly indicated that a number of factors are inextricably bound together in the underrepresentation of women. Some studies indicated how women perceive themselves and their career goals; others related to the perception of others with whom they interact, including family, friends, and employers. Organizational factors such as admission and hiring practices and communications patterns were identified as barriers. Although legislative mandates now prohibit policies and procedures which discriminate against women, an organization must look beyond the law and actively implement strategies to erase the more subtle, traditional patterns of practice which have been ingrained into organizations. A two-pronged redirection for research and development efforts is recommended: (1) an investigation of strategies and intervention processes focused on both external and internal change to affect administrative decision makers and (2) examination of the benefits accruing to vocational education as women are appointed to decision-making positions. (MEK)

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Research and Development Series No. 152

FACTORS RELATED TO THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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1979

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U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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FOREWORD

Increasing sex fairness in vocational education is mandated by the Education Amendments of 1976. The State Boards of Vocational Education are charged with developing and carrying out such program plans as to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping in vocational education in both personnel and program areas. In today's society, technological advancements, economic pressures, psychological awakenings, legal developments, all impinge on our daily existence. Our values, our attitudes, our biases, our dogmas are constantly bombarded with different and divergent stimuli. It is natural for individuals to resist the thrust of change. Women are not noticeably represented in the field of vocational education administration. It seems, therefore, that the identification of the factors relating to the underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration is an important initial step to increasing women's role in vocational education administration.

Recognizing these needs, a project, sponsored by the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education under terms of the U.S. Office of Education contract with the National Center for Research in Vocational Education, was undertaken. A primary objective of this project was to provide a review of the literature in the area of underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration.

It is the purpose of the review of the literature about women in vocational education administration to:

* document the factors relating to underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration
* establish a sound data base for dissemination to the field
* to encourage other project and program work in the area of increasing the representation of women in vocational education administration.

The National Center is particularly indebted to Ellen Bowers, Project Director, and Judythe Hummel, Graduate Research Associate. Significant contributions to the project were made by Lucille Campbell Thrane, Associate Director, and Louise Vetter, Acting Program Director of Increasing Sex Fairness in Vocational Education, Development Division, where the project was conducted. Special recognition and appreciation are extended to others who have contributed to the document: Dr. Rosetta Moore, College of Wooster, Dr. Ruth Gresham and Dr. Lois Watson, The Ohio State University. Acknowledgement is made to Carolyn Burkhardt of the Center staff.

Credit is also given to the following reviewers of the draft: Amanda Smith, Education Consultant in Sex Equity, Durham, North Carolina; Paula Keller, Vocational-Planner, Oklahoma State Department of Vocational Technical Education and to Kathy Warmbrod, Audni Miller-Beach, and Lucille Campbell Thrane of the National Center staff.

Finally, a special note of appreciation is extended to Mary LaBelle, Project Secretary, and to Brenda Downey for their assistance.

Robert E. Taylor
Executive Director
The National Center for Research
in Vocational Education

Executive Summary

The following is an overview of the project, Factors Related to the Underrepresentation of Women in Vocational Education Administration: A Literature Review. It includes a discussion of 1) the purpose of the literature review, 2) the methodology employed in reviewing the literature, 3) the components of the review, 4) major findings from the literature, and 5) the recommendations proffered as a result of the literature review.

One of the major functions of the National Center for Research in Vocational Education focuses on increasing sex equity in vocational education. This project is one of a number of projects conducted under a contract with the Bureau of Occupational Adult Education, U.S. Office of Education.

The purpose of the review was threefold:

1. to document the factors relating to underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration

2. to establish a sound data base for dissemination to the field

3. to encourage other projects and program work in the area of increasing the representation of women in vocational education administration

A number of sources were utilized to obtain the most recent information pertaining to the underrepresentation of women administrators in vocational education. A computer search of Dissertation Abstracts, Psychological Abstracts, Management Contents, and ERIC searches as well as a manual search of current periodicals were conducted.

The main body of the review, entitled "Prevailing Factors," categorized factors under two sections: Interpersonal factors and Factors impacting upon women as members of organizations.

The selected factors were treated as discretely as possible in the literature review. It is recognized, however, that a multitude of factors created the current status of underrepresentation. A certain amount of overlap among the factors will be apparent to the reader as studies often do not use synonymous terms in discussing similar problems.

Interpersonal factors as differentiated from organizational factors were identified as those factors related to the individual. The selected interpersonal factors identified included: socialization, career aspirations, advancement opportunities, two-career

families, role conflict, administrative capabilities, mobility, age, training, and work experience.

The factors presented in the literature review suggest explanations for the underrepresentation of women in administrative positions in vocational education. Not any one factor was identified as solely contributing to this phenomenon. The literature clearly indicates that a number of factors are inextricably bound together resulting in the underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration. Some of the studies identified related how women perceive themselves and their own career goals; others related to the perceptions of others with whom women interact, including family, friends and employers.

A problem recognized early in the undertaking was the paucity of literature relating specifically to women administrators in vocational education. The initial searches showed that the majority of research regarding sex equity in vocational education focused on students and programmatic concerns. Sources under the generic term "education administration" were more plentiful with respect to women in decision-making roles. Thus, the review was expanded to include education administration generally. As vocational education is one facet of the education domain, some factors which operate generally may also impact in vocational education. It was not the intent of the literature review to show patterns in general education administration and apply these to vocational education; rather it was to examine patterns appearing in education as a whole and where possible to determine vocational education's relationship to the whole. The readers, naturally, must draw their own conclusions.

The results of this literature review highlight a number of conditions, one of which is the number of recent legislative Acts mandating the elimination of sex discrimination in educational programs and institutional practices and procedures. Both Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and Title II of the Education Amendments of 1976 include sex fairness provisions; the latter specifically referring to sex equity in vocational education. This prescriptive legislation addresses not only vocational programs and the students who enroll or have access to the program but also the personnel concerns of all levels of the vocational education delivery system.

The significant increase of the number of women in the labor force reflects the changing needs, life styles, and values of our society. Historical evidence serves to indicate that the vast number of women in the labor force are not in decision-making positions. In the education arena, women predominate in entry level positions, that is, teachers.

Some relevant findings of the review include:

Socialization

- Studies portray women as less confident, less independent, less objective, less logical than men;
- The man's role is that of chief provider, the woman's--of mother and housekeeper; and
- Countless myths perpetrate the stereotype of women's inferiority to men.

Career Aspirations

- Some women place the needs of their families and husbands before opportunities for their own advancement;
- Women are often placed in sex-segregated, low-paying jobs which require little training and provide little, if any, incentives;
- Many women are unwilling to commit themselves to career-goal-oriented activities;
- Young women tend to accept interest-inventory feedback as interpreted by counselors, adjusting their career aspirations accordingly; and
- Many career-oriented women perceive their opportunities for advancement as poor.

Advancement Opportunity

- Based on the notion that women are unlikely to remain in the paid work force for an uninterrupted period, they are counseled not to seek advanced degrees;
- Financial support for advanced study or additional training is more readily available to men than to women;
- Many admissions counselors perceive women as less likely to be employed after graduation than males;
- Women are excluded from informal communication networks of the decision-makers who are predominately male, a distinct impediment to advancement,
- Women are presumed not serious about their careers and thus are often not considered for promotions;
- Men predominate in the decision-making positions, and in terms of hiring and promoting, are more likely to recommend individuals who are more similar to themselves.

Two-career Family

- Women are exhorted to join the work force in times of national emergencies, but are pressured to return to the home upon an emergency's conclusion;
- Many women put their husbands' careers and their family obligations before their own career needs; and
- Women frequently interrupt their graduate studies to move with the husband and bear or care for children.

Role Conflict

- Women who think the wife-and-mother role is best seldom, if ever, seek administrative positions;
- Working mothers report guilt and uneasiness with unsatisfactory child care;
- A woman's traditional role in the family tends to restrict her freedom with regard to her career;
- Women are perceived by men as being rendered unable to do justice to their professional duties when these are combined with the duties of homemaker;
- The employment of women in administrative positions is seen as leading to unemployment of male administrative candidates;
- There are men who believe that women don't want administrative responsibilities; and
- There are those, primarily men, who believe that women are too emotional for the job.

Administrative Capabilities

- Boards of education seem to prefer men for administrative positions;
- Men are suspicious of working under women unless they have had this experience;
- Women, who successfully work in jobs which are traditionally considered male-appropriate, may be ostracized socially and labelled anti-feminine or unfeminine;
- Women are socialized to be nice, friendly, polite and patient--behavior which may impede them in expressing what is expected of them as administrators; and
- Confusion of roles arises from the dilemma involving the tasks of the administrator and the behavior expected of males and females.

Mobility

- Marital status for women was not related to geographic mobility
- Constraints on mobility including factors such as age, spouse's job, friends, and community ties
- Employers tend to believe that women should not be in positions of authority because their ability to travel would be restrictive
- For both female and male executives, more challenging work and more money are reasons cited for relocation.

Experience

- Women are not taken seriously until they get older--when they are no longer regarded as feminine objects but as persons and administrators;
- The coaching field, where men are provided with opportunities for demonstrating their administrative skills, has afforded men an avenue for advancement which has been denied to women; and
- Work experience of women is perceived differently than work experience of men, viz.:
  - if a woman is single, her experience is not considered because it is assumed that she will marry and leave the profession;
  - if she is married, her experience is not taken seriously because it is assumed that she will follow her husband if he is transferred;
  - if she returns to the paid work force after childbearing, it is assumed her experience is too limited for administrative consideration.

Age

- Both youth and advancing maturity were identified as handicaps;
- Men are often hired with minimum experience but projecting potential, whereas women are considered only when they possess numerous years of experience; and
- Women holding administrative positions are older and are being replaced by younger men, although female resources are available.

Training

- Women have not been admitted to graduate programs in proportion to the number of men graduate students;
- Women tend to be enrolled in graduate programs which provide minimum financial assistance--and lacking financial assistance may be one reason that some women do not complete graduate programs;

- o The number of underemployed women with credentials--particularly in education administration--may be another reason women do not pursue graduate training; and
- o Women are encouraged to get credentials; when they have them, they are told they lack experience.

Admission Requirements

- o Most women who interrupt their graduate programs do so because of the home and family responsibilities; when too much intervening time passes, it is often necessary for them to start over--a course of action many are unwilling to take due to lack of time coupled with limited financial resources;
- o Administrators are unwilling to abandon college board scores for women reentering the university through special programs designed to meet their needs;
- o Of 84 graduate schools granting Ph.D.s in 1972, men candidates were admitted to the top-ranked schools, while women were more likely to be admitted to graduate schools ranking middle to poorest (25 of the 84 schools admitted a higher proportion of men than women); differential schooling could lead to differential hiring; and
- o More years elapse between beginning a bachelor's degree program and obtaining a doctorate in education for women than men.

The second section of "Prevailing Factors" concentrated on women as they interact with the organization. The factors subsumed into this component were often referred to in the literature as structural barriers--practices and policies, formal or informal, adopted by the organization and operationalized in such a manner as to prevent or deter women from pursuing administrative positions. Organizational factors include admission requirements, recruitment practices, job requirements, hiring practices, and selected communications.

In light of legislative mandates, formally stated policies which discriminate against women are being abandoned; however, the organization must actively implement strategies to erase traditional patterns which have been ingrained into organizations. Organizational policies and practices which act to discourage women from pursuing administrative positions continue.

Some of the relevant findings of the review include:

Recruitment Practices

- Often, women are not recruited because it is assumed they are not interested or are not capable of becoming good administrators;
- Many positions are not sufficiently publicized;
- Certain recruiting filters used serve to perpetuate traditional employment in educational organizations, viz.:
  - Passing the word along through the informal system, the "boys," or other fraternal or male-dominated associations
  - Contacting university placement services known to recommend men even with qualified women registered
  - Employing search groups that have track records for selecting men, only, as finalists
  - Looking to women's organizations only as openings in a female-intensive field
  - Announcing "possible position," and, if women apply, withdrawing the position
  - Limiting the announcement circulation to "within the district," knowing that, few, if any, women in the district are certified
  - Using sexist language to convey subtly the image of a male candidate and the not-so-subtle messages, such as: "We are seeking to replace a man who left a high-school principalship"
  - Selective advertising; and
- Few women, if any, are encouraged to consider administration as a viable option.

Job Requirements

- Maleness has been identified as a preferred characteristic for vocational education administrators; and
- Women's lack of advanced education and degrees has often been cited as a major reason for women not being found in educational administrative positions (women receive 74 percent of all bachelor's degrees but only 20 percent of the doctoral degrees conferred in education).

Hiring Practices

- One affirmative action practice that has been adopted is the creation of new positions for women with little or no opportunity for advancement--thus the positions (and the women with them) get phased out within a year or two;

- Women are hired but not given access to information which has been channeled through the "old boy network";
- Women have been hired for positions devoid of authority to make decisions but have been rendered accountable for decisions they had not made;
- A woman is sometimes hired for a position previously held by a man; the position is given a different title, with the pay scale adjusted downward;
- Some women would not apply for administrative positions simply because of the anti-nepotism posture adopted by the institutions concerned (yet even with the increase from 65 to 74 percent--from 1970 to 1976--of the institutions abandoning anti-nepotism rules, there has been a 20 percent drop among institutions employing wife-and-husband teams).

Communication

- When a man and a woman talk, the man makes 96 percent of the interruptions, whereas the woman makes "retrievals" (picking up where she left off) about one-third of the time;
- Males seem to demonstrate more sensitivity, in terms of number of words used, to success or failure in communication;
- No significant differences were noted in the speed of speech between the women and the men, although males (at different experiments) often spoke longer than the females; and
- A male-dominated group may impose a stereotypic casting to the token woman from four stereotypical roles identified, namely: the mother, the sex object, the pet, and the iron maiden; confinement to the stereotyped role inhibits effective communication between male and female administrators.

Some of the conclusions arrived at were:

- Women have been and are qualified for top echelon positions in vocational education;
- Many women have made significant contributions in the educational field and they continue to do so;
- Women have prepared themselves for and committed themselves to leadership, especially with the impetus provided by the vocational leadership development programs;
- Advancement opportunities for men are not the same as they are for women;

- The two-career family is the practice--and no longer the exception--today; and
- Such barriers to women's pursuit of leadership careers as geographic mobility, age, training, and experience are arbitrarily imposed.

A review of the recommendations emanating from many dissertations, reports, and other publications are similar. It would appear that efforts to increase the utilization of women in vocational education administration will require persons actively committed to this end.

The major recommendation resulting from the review of the literature is a two-pronged redirection for research and development efforts:

- One aspect for redirection is to focus on strategies and intervention processes based on external and internal influences for affecting a change orientation for the decision-makers.

- The second aspect for redirection follows naturally. It is to examine the benefits accruing to vocational education as women are appointed to decision-making positions.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this literature review is to identify the factors related to the underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration. Dissertation Abstracts, Psychological Abstracts, Management Contents and ERIC data bases were searched for sources of published and unpublished materials which focused on the issue.

The paucity of sources relating to the underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration was disappointing. There is, in the literature today, considerable attention being devoted to increasing sex fairness in vocational education. However, upon closer examination, it becomes clear that these efforts are concentrated almost entirely on programmatic concerns to the exclusion of personnel matters.

In view of this void in the literature, the review was expanded to include education administration as a unit. It was believed that general education administration information provided a basis from which one could examine factors which may relate to the employment or non-employment of women in vocational education administration.

The literature review has focused on three major sections:

- Recent Legislation to Assure Open Access in Education and Employment for Women;
- Prevailing Factors: Interpersonal and Factors Impacting upon Women as Members of Organizations, and
- Vocational Education Leadership Development Programs

It is recognized that the title, Factors Relating to the Underrepresentation of Women in Vocational Education Administration: A Literature Review, establishes a tone of concern. Until recently, it was the responsibility of the individual woman to deal with whatever barriers she encountered in the work place. Increasingly, as evidenced by legislation enacted over the past decade, these barriers have been viewed as a societal problem. Society's values and dogmas are embodied in its social structure. For varied and complex reasons society's value structure is called into question. This literature review addresses an area which, for some people, is particularly sensitive. The reviewers accept that the reader will be moved by the presentation. It is also recognized that not all individuals reading this report will have the same awareness levels. For those who

are beginning to question the status quo, it is hoped that the information contained in this report will provide a knowledge base. For those who are aware but uncommitted to support appointments of women to decision-making positions, it is hoped that this report will serve as a catalyst for action.

In 1938, Charles A. Prosser* expressed concern over the fact that women were not actively participating in vocational programs. The explanations he saw only "made the situation more discouraging" to him. He proffered that,

-- vocational schools have no message for women

-- local authorities have not been interested in developing any service for this group

-- the almost totally masculine character of state and local staffs of vocational education...have caused this work to be neglected

-- the successful handling of the problem may require a woman as state agent who is specifically interested and qualified to deal with it.

It is to Prosser's identification of "neglected work" that this literature review is dedicated.

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*Charles A. Prosser, "A Forecast and Prophecy," Objectives and Problems of Vocational Education, ed. Edwin A. Lee, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938), pp. 395-396.

RECENT LEGISLATION TO ASSURE OPEN ACCESS IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN

Introduction

In years past, the question of how and when women had access to education and the work force was, to a great extent, dependent on their own individual efforts. The rapid advancement of technology, new demands from the market place, periodic national emergencies, changing societal values, new and revealing studies, and expanded information--have brought to the forefront the recognition that societal injustices exist in relation to the status of women. Congress, accepting that the problem is there, has attempted through legislation to provide an environment which will make it possible to remove, if not eliminate, the problem. This is especially true in regard to the legislation which has been enacted for vocational education.

Discussions about affirmative action, and the status of women and government regulation in the civil rights field are often dealt with in the press and media, in the market place, and in the home--too frequently in an atmosphere permeated with ignorance, misinformation, and some obvious untruths.

Women today, whether students, faculty, administrators, or taxpayers, are concerned about, involved with, and consumers of educational efforts and environments. They seek open access to the opportunities which their abilities, interests, and willingness to work entitle them.

This first section of the report will, therefore, present an overview of the legislation relating to education as a whole, and vocational education specifically. An added segment on emerging legislation also has strong implications for actions and attitudes as related to the underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration.

Current Legislation

One of the most remarkable, but little noted, achievements of the 92nd Congress during 1971-1972 was the shaping of a new national policy to end sex discrimination in all educational

> institutions at all levels, including students, staff and faculty, from nursery school, to post-graduate education.[1]

The 94th Congress in 1976 enacted an equally remarkable piece of legislation, Title II (Vocational Education) of the Education Amendments. In addition to other sweeping changes for vocational education, Title II mandates the elimination of sex discrimination, sex stereotyping, and sex bias in vocational education.

> Vocational education has been given the chance to lead the way for all of education in providing for sex equity in policies and programming. Title II (Vocational Education) of the Education Amendments of 1976 spells out ways of overcoming sex bias and sex stereotyping in vocational education. There have been laws and executive orders against discrimination on the basis of sex in employment and in education for over a decade. Vocational education has now been given the chance to forge ahead in overcoming the more subtle problems associated with sex bias and sex stereotyping.[2]

The language of the Amendments is specific, direct, and prescriptive. To strengthen its commitment, Congress included the elimination of sex discrimination, sex stereotyping, and sex bias as one of the stated purposes of vocational education.

> ...to develop and carry out such programs of vocational education within each State so as to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping in vocational education programs (including programs of homemaking), and thereby furnish equal educational opportunities in vocational education to persons of both sexes...[3]

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[1]Bernice Sandler, "Sex Discrimination, Educational Institutions, and the Law: A New Issue on Campus," Women in Academia Evolving Policies Toward Equal Opportunities, ed. Elga Wasserman, Arie Y. Lewin, and Linda A. Bleiweis (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 20.

[2]Louise Vetter and Marla Peterson, "Sex Equity: The Call to Leadership," American Vocational Journal 53 (1978):24.

[3]Public Law 94-482, October 12, 1976, 90 Stat. 2169.

Under the Section for administering vocational education on the state level, Congress directed that a person be employed full time to perform the following functions, appearing in the left hand column of Table 1. Although all of the functions have been included for a general reference, those appearing in capital letters represent the functions having specific applicability to the personnel issue in vocational education. The Rules and Regulations published in the Federal Register[4] serve as guidelines for implementing the Act and appear in the right-hand column of Table 1.

Items B, C, F, and I of the Act itself (left column) and b, c, f, and i of the Rules and Regulations (right column) carry significant importance for women who are qualified for and aspire to administrative positions in vocational education. Item I under the Act and its accompanying guideline could have impact for the personnel issue IF it is carried out through active commitment to include women in decisionmaking positions--the information needs to be made available to all interested parties.

The states generally translated the mandate into a full-time, vocational education sex-equity person assigned functions designed to increase sex fairness in both programmatic and personnel matters. By and large, efforts have concentrated on programmatic changes to the exclusion of personnel concerns. The specific inclusion of Title IX in the Act coupled with the emphasis given in the Rules and Regulations to monitor the implementation of laws prohibiting sex discrimination in all hiring, firing, and promotion procedures conveys a clear message that any existing discriminatory personnel policies and practices be eradicated in the personnel area as well.

To their credit, many states have actively pursued increasing sex fairness in vocational education long before the enactment of Title II. Associated with this endeavor, some states and the sex-equity appointees have experienced, as with any change, a certain character of growing pains. Some of the problems highlighted have been offices situated at the lowest professional rung in the organizational hierarchical ladder, appointment of "acting" personnel, and the physical separation of the position from vocational education into another agency with shared authority.

Location of the sex-equity office within the organizational structure can be most effective when open and frequent

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[4]"Rules and Regulations," Federal Register 42 (October 3, 1977), p. 53831.

Table 1

FUNCTIONS TO INCREASE SEX FAIRNESS
IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Education Amendments of 1976, Title II, October 12, 1976 Sec. 104 (State Administration)	Rules and Regulations October 3, 1977 Federal Register
"(b) (1) Any State desiring to participate in the programs authorized by this Act shall also assign such full-time personnel as may be necessary to assist the State Board in fulfilling the purposes of this Act by--	104.75 Functions of full-time personnel. Personnel designated under 104.72 shall work full time to:
"(A) taking such action as may be necessary to create awareness of programs and activities in vocational education that are designed to reduce sex stereotyping in all vocational education programs;	(a) Take action necessary to create awareness of programs and activities in vocational education designed to reduce sex bias and sex stereotyping in all vocational education programs, including assisting the State Board in publicizing the public hearings on the State plan in accordance with 104.165 (a);
"(B) GATHERING, ANALYZING, AND DISSEMINATING DATA ON THE STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN, STUDENTS AND EMPLOYEES IN THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF THAT STATE;	(b) GATHER, ANALYZE, AND DISSEMINATE DATA ON THE STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS AND EMPLOYEES [Emphasis added] IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS OF THE STATE;
"(C) DEVELOPING AND SUPPORTING ACTIONS TO CORRECT ANY PROBLEMS BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF SUCH PERSONNEL THROUGH ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT UNDER CLAUSE (B) OF THIS SENTENCE;	(c) DEVELOP AND SUPPORT ACTIONS TO CORRECT PROBLEMS BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THIS PERSONNEL THROUGH ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT UNDER PARAGRAPH (b) and 104.76, INCLUDING CREATING AWARENESS OF THE TITLE IX COMPLAINT PROCESS;
"(D) reviewing the distribution of grants by the State board to assure that the interests and needs of women are addressed in the projects assisted under this Act;	(d) Review the distribution of grants and contracts by the State board to assure that the interests and needs of women are addressed in all projects assisted under this Act;
"(E) reviewing all vocational education programs in the State for sex bias;	(e) Review all vocational education programs (including work-study programs, cooperative vocational education programs, apprenticeship programs, and the placement of students who have successfully completed vocational education programs) in the State for sex bias;
"(F) MONITORING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS PROHIBITING SEX DISCRIMINATION IN ALL HIRING, FIRING, AND PROMOTION PROCEDURES WITHIN THE STATE RELATING TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION;	(f) MONITOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS PROHIBITING SEX DISCRIMINATION IN ALL HIRING, FIRING, AND PROMOTION PROCEDURES WITHIN THE STATE RELATING TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION;
"(G) reviewing and submitting recommendations with respect to the overcoming of sex stereotyping and sex bias in vocational education programs for the annual program plan and report;	(j) Review and submit recommendations with respect to overcoming sex bias and sex stereotyping in vocational education programs for the five-year State plan and its annual program plan prior to their submission to the Commissioner for approval.
"(H) assisting local educational agencies and other interested parties in the State in improving vocational education opportunities for women; and	(g) Assist local educational agencies and other interested parties in the State in improving vocational education opportunities for women; and
"(I) MAKING READILY AVAILABLE TO THE STATE BOARD, THE STATE AND NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCILS ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, THE STATE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, THE COMMISSIONER, AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC, INFORMATION DEVELOPED PURSUANT TO THIS SUBSECTION.	(h) MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE STATE BOARD, THE STATE ADVISORY COUNCIL, THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, THE STATE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, THE COMMISSIONER, AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC, INCLUDING INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE STATE CONCERNED ABOUT SEX BIAS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, INFORMATION DEVELOPED UNDER THIS SECTION;
	(i) REVIEW THE SELF-EVALUATIONS REQUIRED BY TITLE IX; AND
"(2) From the funds appropriated to carry out subpart 2, each state shall reserve $50,000 in each fiscal year to carry out this subsection.	104.76 Studies to carry out functions. A State may use funds available under section 130 (b) (6) of the Act to support studies necessary to carry out the functions set forth in 104.75. [See first item above]
Definitions: (a) "Sex bias" means behaviors resulting from the assumption that one sex is superior to the other. (b) "Sex stereotyping" means attributing behaviors, abilities, interests, values, and roles to a person or group of persons on the basis of their sex (c) "Sex discrimination" means any action which limits or denies a person or group of persons opportunities, privileges, roles, or rewards on the basis of their sex.	

communications with the state director and the State Board are actively assured and practiced. In order to assist this fledgling development and recognizing the great challenge these concerned people face in serving as change agents, a workshop was held early in 1978 by Ellis Associates, Inc.[5] A handbook was developed to implement plans and approaches to overcome problems. Fifteen selected states participated.

The fifteen participating teams were selected on the basis of their leadership in sex equity (information and materials submitted to Ellis Associates prior to the workshop) and their interest in participating in the workshop. Criteria for selection included examples of accomplishments. Submitted were: planned and conducted workshops, seminars, and informal meetings to create awareness of the need to reduce sex stereotyping; sponsored workshops through in-service training to disseminate information regarding personnel functions; and developed review procedures for hiring, firing, and promotion of vocational education staff. Suggested approaches for each state's identified problems by function were incorporated in the report.

The U.S. Commissioner of Education, Ernest L. Boyer, in a speech delivered at the 1978 American Vocational Association Convention remarked on equality of opportunity in vocational education:

> I also know that the sex-equity coordinators in the States are making a difference. In the end, however, it is the State Directors of Vocational Education who hold the key. Without their full and unqualified support, the elimination of sex bias and stereotyping will not succeed.[6]

The following summarizes the elements contained in Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments[7] which address employment issues (See items "C," "f," and "i" of Table 1). The areas listed may suggest that some educational organizations need to review their employment practices and policies to guard against sex discrimination.

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[5]State Action on Sex Equity in Vocational Education: A Compilation of Selected States' Approaches to the Legislated Functions of Full-time Sex Equity Personnel in Vocational Education, (College Park, Maryland: Ellis Associates, Inc., 1978).

[6]Ernest L. Boyer, "Remarks of Ernest L. Boyer" (Speech presented at the 1978 Convention of the American Vocational Association, Dallas, Texas, December 2, 1978), p. 5.

[7]Emily Taylor and Donna Shavlik, Selecting Professionals in Higher Education: A Title IX Perspective, (U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, n.d.).

- Access to employment, including:

  --Recruitment policies and practices
  --Advertising
  --Application procedures
  --Testing and interviewing practices

- Hiring and promotion, including:

  --Selection practices
  --Application of nepotism policies
  --Demotion, layoff, termination
  --Tenure

- Compensation, including:

  --Wages and salaries
  --Extra compensations

- Job assignments, including:

  --Classification and position descriptions
  --Lines of progression
  --Seniority lists
  --Assignment and placement

- Leaves of absence, including:

  --Leaves for temporary disability
  --Childbearing leave and related medical conditions
  --Childrearing leave (both sexes)

- Fringe benefits, including:

  --Retirement plans
  --Vacation time
  --Insurance plans
  --Travel opportunities
  --Selection and support for training
  --Employer-sponsored programs

- Labor organization contracts or professional agreements

- Develop and publish grievance procedures

According to the Title IX regulations, educational organizations, when conducting their institutional self-evaluations, are to identify areas including employment matters which require remedial action and to develop plans of action to correct and eliminate sex discrimination in

these areas. To comply with Title IX, institutions have discretionary power to design their own remediation.

Under the guidelines for vocational education, it is specified that an awareness be created for the grievance procedures as prescribed by Title IX. It is stated that procedures are to be established and published whereby individuals, who are aggrieved due to sex discrimination, are afforded formal recourse within their organization. Title IX also mandates that:

> At least one employee be designated to coordinate compliance and to publish written grievance procedures providing for prompt, equitable resolution of complaints alleging any action prohibited by these regulations.[8]

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 as amended in 1974 also extends coverage of the Equal Pay Act of 1973. Title IX relates to all aspects of employment, recruiting, hiring, promotion, tenure, demotion, transfer, layoff, termination, application of nepotism policies and re-hiring.[9]

> It [Title IX policy] included a self-evaluation component which briefly states that an educational institution was to have evaluated its practices and policies relating to admission and treatment of students and employment of academic and non-academic personnel. Policies and practices not meeting the requirements... must be modified and steps taken to eliminate the effects of any resulting discrimination. For at least three years following this self-evaluation, recipients shall retain a description of such modifications and remedial steps.[10]

A succinct statement regarding the complementing features of the two legislations (Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and Title II of the Education Amendments of 1976) was made in the first publication of EVO Report, Equal Vocational Opportunity.[11]

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[8]William Pearson, A Digest of Federal Laws and Regulations Affecting Equal Rights for Women in Education (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1976), p. 17.

[9]Ibid., p. 21.

[10]Ibid., p. 17.

[11]"Title IX vs. Title II," EVO REPORT 1 (January 1978): 1-2.

Title IX: Addresses sex discrimination
Title II: Addresses sex discrimination, sex bias and sex stereotyping

Title IX deals with sex discrimination and prohibits specific policies, programs and practices which treat students differently on the basis of sex. It is possible to comply with Title IX by eliminating sex discrimination but still not address sex bias or sex stereotyping. By contrast, the sex equity provisions of Title II focus not only on the reduction of discrimination but also on overcoming sex bias and stereotyping in vocational education programs by establishing a series of administrative and program requirements for state use of vocational education funds.

Title IX: Applies directly to local educational agencies
Title II: Applies to state and federal vocational education programs

...As priorities and procedures for state use of federal vocational education monies are specified, funding of various vocational education programs and institutions is indirectly affected.

Title IX: Specifies various forms of discrimination which are prohibited.
Title II: Specifies action to overcome sex bias and stereotyping using federal monies.

...Those which apply to vocational education include prohibitions of discrimination on the basis of sex in admissions, access to courses, facilities, treatment of students, student employment, and employment of education personnel. Title II complements those specific prohibitions with a mandate for the development of programs to overcome sex discrimination, bias, and stereotyping in vocational education and authorizes states to use federal monies for this purpose.

Executive Order 11246 (1965) as amended by Executive Order 11375 (1968) prohibits discrimination in employment [includes students only if employed by the institution holding the contract], and requires organizations with federal

contracts or subcontracts to have written affirmative action plans, to submit assurances regarding employment opportunities, and have a commitment on the part of contractors to include women in management training programs as an important component whereby women can be recruited and encouraged to apply for jobs where they have previously been excluded [emphasis added].[12]

Revised order no. 4 details the requirements for affirmative action plans which include the following:

1. Develop a data base on all job classifications.
2. Have a policy statement forbidding discrimination.
3. Appoint an individual to be in charge of the program.
4. Examine recruiting, hiring, promotion policies, salaries, and all other conditions of employment.
5. Identify areas of underutilization and develop specific plans to overcome these areas.
6. Develop numerical goals and timetables.

The recent Bakke case challenged the issue of goals and quotas. Katherine E. Stone, Deputy Attorney General for the State of California, translated the Federal decision in favor of Bakke into two dimensions for women.[13]

> First, it sets forth some circumstances where preferential programs for classes of persons victimized by societal discrimination will be held constitutional.

Second, there seems to be disagreement among the justices concerning gender-based classification. Racial and gender-based classifications were considered equivalent issues by four Justices--Brennan, White, Marshall and Blackman. They wrote that these classifications divide people on the basis of "immutable characteristics." Too often these classifications had been used "to stereotype and stigmatize politically powerless segments of our culture.[14] Justice Powell who

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[12]Bernice Sandler, "Sex Discrimination...and the Law," p. 21.

[13]Katherine E. Stone, "What Does the Bakke Case Have to Do With Women," California Women, October/November, 1978, p. 5.

[14]Ibid.

wrote the deciding opinion in Bakke "does not believe that a gender-based classification should be subjected to the same level of scrutiny as racial classification."[15]

Since the four other justices did not analyze the case under the Equal Protection Clause, Justice Powell's analysis of gender-based classifications is likely to prevail in the absence of the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Legal recourse for sex discrimination relative to employment is available for women under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 and Executive Orders 11246 and 11375. Additionally, Title II of the Education Amendments of 1972 protects employees against sex discrimination in educational organizations. Each of these legal remedies involves prescribed and distinct procedures which must be followed. An example of such legal action is described below.

Five faculty women of the Montana State University brought suit in Federal District Court against the university under Title VII, alleging discrimination in pay and promotion. The court found Montana State University guilty of discriminating against women. Clark, assistant to the president of the university, acknowledged it was true. The negotiated settlement in 1976 included, among other issues, $355,000 in back pay, adjustments to current salaries, and retroactive promotions for 138 women. "Perhaps the key to their success was a good lawyer, a young man willing to dig hard and research the facts."[16] Clark also added in relation to affirmative action programs, "Only decisions made by those in power can turn a program into a reality."[17]

Knowledge of the legal base upon which individuals' rights are founded is essential to guard against discriminatory actions knowingly or unknowingly imposed, which could impede or damage career options and opportunities for women.

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[15]Ibid.

[16]Donald L. Clark, "Discrimination Suits: A Unique Settlement," Educational Record 58 (Summer 1977), p. 234.

[17]Ibid., p. 245.

Emerging Legislation

Sexual Harassment

Several vignettes of sexual harassment emanating from situations occurring in vocational education have been documented in authors' files. Sexual harassment which, in the past, would have been categorized as a factor, is now emerging as a legal issue. According to the report, "Sexual Harassment: A Hidden Issue,"[18] prior to 1976, there were few reliable statistics on the incidence of sexual harassment with most of the data collected since then focusing on women in the workplace. Several studies were mentioned: a Redbook magazine survey, another conducted by Working Women United Institute, a U.S. Naval Officer at the Navy Base, Monterey, California, an Ad Hoc Group on Equal Rights for Women at the United Nations--all have documented to a high degree the women who have said they have been sexually harassed.

Sexual harassment, the report states, is difficult to define. "It may range from sexual innuendoes made at inappropriate times, perhaps in the guise of humor, to coerced sexual relations."[19] The report continues,

> Harassment in its extreme occurs when a male in a position to control, influence, or affect a woman's job, career, or grades uses his authority and power to coerce women into sexual relations, or to punish her refusal including:
>
> - Verbal harassment or abuse
> - Subtle pressure for sexual activity
> - Sexist remarks about a woman's clothing, body or sexual activity
> - Unnecessary touching, patting or pinching
> - Leering or ogling of a woman's body
> - Constant brushing against a woman's body
> - Demanding sexual favors accompanied by implied or overt threats concerning one's job, grades, or letter of recommendation
> - Physical assault

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[18]"Sexual Harassment: A Hidden Issue," (Washington, D.C.: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, September 1978).

[19]Ibid., p. 2.

The Oklahoma Human Rights Commission, as reported in the August 28, 1977 issue of The Oklahoma New Woman, announced its intent to support a "vigorous prosecution of valid sexual harrassment [sic] complaints." According to Candace Landers Blalock, general counsel:

> The Human Rights Commission, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and federal court judges have recognized that sexual harrassment [sic] of an employee by a supervisor can be an artificial barrier to or condition of employment which may be placed before one gender and not the other. Therefore, under the theory of disparate treatment of male and female employees, sexual harrassment [sic] allegations may constitute valid sex discrimination complaints under anti-discrimination laws.[20]

The Oklahoma New Woman article also cites a recent federal case, Williams vs. Saxbe, which established that retaliatory actions of a male supervisor taken because a female employee declined his sexual advances constitute sex discrimination within the definitional parameters of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In a different case a federal appellate judge held that an employer policy of acquiescence in a practice of compelling female employees to submit to the sexual advances of their male supervisors violates the federal bar on sex discrimination (Garber vs. Saxon Industries, Inc.). The turning point and landmark decision for bringing sexual harassment out of the closet into full public view and thus encouraging more women to take cases of harassment to the courts surfaced when "...a Department of Justice employee, Diane Williams, collected $16,000 in back pay for being fired after refusing her boss's sexual advances."[21]

In addition to the Human Rights Commission becoming aware of a number of complaints alleging sexual harassment as a discriminatory condition of employment, Blalock referred to other surveys and studies. One survey conducted by Working Women United Institute in May, 1975, indicated that 70 percent of the 155 women surveyed had been subjected to such harassment on the job. Only 18 percent had made formal complaints to their employers about the misconduct, apparently

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[20]"Commission Takes Stand Against Sexual Harrassment [sic]," The Oklahoma New Woman 3 (25 August 1977), p. 3.

[21]Adrienne Munich, "Seduction in the Academe," Psychology Today 11 (February 1978): 82.

because of the chilling effect on employer attitudes. The respondents suggested the repercussions of reporting incidents would have been personal ridicule or other indirect reactions, e.g., poor personnel reports, increased workloads, complaints about poor quality of work, etc.[22]

Another example of the pervasive use of sex dominance as a weapon against women can be found in the case of student Pamela Price, who brought a class action suit in federal court claiming that the Yale Corporation ignored complaints of sexual harassment.[23]

Sexual harassment is illegal, and a woman--or man--can file a charge with the government when it occurs.[24] In California, a seven-bill package relating to rape and sexual harassment will become effective on January 1, 1979. It states that:

> Victims of sexual harassment will be able to seek civil court injunction against the harassor, with violation being a misdemeanor offense.[25]

The legislative developments have been included in the review to establish a knowledge-base from which an individual can evaluate the factors which relate to underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration. The societal and legal dynamics are inextricably bound together; to have reviewed one without the other would have provided only half the picture. For more than a decade now, discrimination against individuals because of sex in employment has been illegal. With amendments, executive orders, and now Title II, vocational education has a challenge ahead.

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[22]"Commission Takes Stand...", p. 3.

[23]"Yale Sexual Harassment Suit Given Standing," The Spokeswoman, 15 April 1978, p. 6.

[24]Sharie Crain with Philip T. Drotnig, Taking Stock: A Woman's Guide to Corporate Success, (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1977), p. 148.

[25]"News," National NOW Times, II (November 1978), p. 8.

PREVAILING FACTORS

Introduction

For this section, selected factors were identified from the literature related to women in education and work environments. Those factors mentioned most frequently and those demonstrating a relationship to underrepresentation of women in vocational education were included. Among the most frequently mentioned factors were socialization, career aspirations, advancements, dual-role conflict, experience, training, age, discrimination, and perceptions of males as administrators.

This review brings together for potential comparing and contrasting the perceptions held by women; perceptions of women's roles held by men and women; and of special importance, the perceptions of persons who can, because of their positions within the organization, influence the advancement of women through practice and policy decisions.

According to Uehling, the literature she had reviewed tended to show that the most important characteristics identified for leadership positions were traditionally viewed as male; the least important characteristics were identified as female. Uehling suggested that one might argue that as these opinions are universally held, they reflect reality. However, the criterion for reality in this case must include situational behavior.[1]

Uehling continued,

> ...women are generally placed in management jobs where expertise is the basis of authority rather than the authority of the position itself within the organizational structure.[2]

It seems obvious that the authority positions are held by men, although there have been a few women who have moved into administration in education. Barter predicted that the number of women holding administrative positions in educational organizations will continue to decline unless more women begin to prepare for these positions.[3]

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[1]Barbara S. Uehling, "Women and the Psychology of Management," (Paper presented at a conference on Women and the Management of Postsecondary Institutions, Syracuse, NY, December 1973), p. 5.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]Alice Barter, "The Status of Women in School Administration--Where Will They Go from Here?" Educational Horizons, 37 (Spring 1959), p. 74.

According to Steiger,[4] employment patterns in education tend to result in males holding the top positions. In 1971 women represented 67.2 percent of all teachers, 21 percent of all principals and only .6 percent of all superintendents in K-12 educational organizations.

The decline in the percentage of women who hold principalships is vividly depicted in U.S. Office of Education data[5] which indicate that 55 percent of the principals in 1928 were women as compared with 41 percent in 1948, 38 percent in 1958, 22.4 percent in 1965, and 19.6 percent in 1973. Based on this information, it is clear that women are not adequately represented in decision-making positions in education and their representation is not increasing.

The National Manpower Council, when a study on the status of women was conducted in 1952, suggested that social values and attitudes have a direct influence on changes in jobs and employment for women.

> The undermining of the belief in the innate inferiority of the female sex, and the continuing changes in popular ideas about the intellectual capacities and the emotional traits of women, have been inextricably interwoven with the changing nature of women's employment.[6]

Hantjis,[7] in 1977, suggested that many myths have developed resulting from a division of labor according to sex rather than according to talents, interests, and abilities. Although legislation has provided some legal respite from policies and procedures which were blatantly predicated upon sex, the attitudes have not kept pace. Hantjis surveyed a random sample of all divisions in American Vocational Association (AVA) membership to assess: 1) the extent of knowledge possessed by the respondents with regard to women in the work force; 2) the degree of liberalism of attitudes toward sex role stereotypes in educational occupations; and 3) the degree of liberalism of behavioral

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[4]JoAnn Steiger, "Vocational Preparation for Women: A Critical Analysis," (Funded by the State of Illinois, Board of Vocational Education and Rehabilitation, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, December 1974), p. 16.

[5]Flora Ida Ortiz and Janice Covel, "Women in School Administration: A Case Analysis," Urban Education 13 (1978):214.

[6]National Manpower Council, Womanpower (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 15.

[7]Arlene P. Hantjis, "The Relationships between Knowledge and Attitudes and Behavioral Intent Concerning Sex-Role Stereotyping in Vocational Education," (Ed.D. dissertation, Rutgers, June 1977).

intent in situations in which sex-role stereotyping is a critical factor. The sample was stratified according to AVA divisions and geographical regions. The results indicated that the administrative group was less liberal in attitudes and behavioral intent and less knowledgeable as compared to other groups in vocational education. The author evidenced some concern over the attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge of the administrators because of the impact they have as decision-makers for vocational education.

As administrators are generally older and have generally been in office for a longer time, it seems that their knowledge base in regard to the changing status of women in the work force has not kept pace. Since this seems to be the case, one needs to ask: a) How has the selective knowledge base created barriers for women in administration? b) If provided with sufficient data, would decisions be different? c) To what extent would the data base need to be increased to cause a decision to be changed?

Interpersonal Factors

Categorizing of factors is intended to provide the reader with a systematic method for understanding how various factors interact with one another. The reader will find that, even though distinctions have been made in this presentation, a certain amount of overlap exists because studies have not used synonymous terms in discussing similar problems. Therefore, subjective means were used to provide a suitable method for categorizing factors described and discussed in this literature review.

Factors which have been identified in the literature have been grouped either as interpersonal or organizational factors. Interpersonal factors are differentiated from organizational factors according to the following critiera: interpersonal factors relate to the individual as she/he defined femininity and masculinity coupled with an awareness of the influence contributed by the family and society. One's self-image, level of aspiration, and attitudes toward success and achievement are other criteria. Interpersonal factors include the following: socialization, career aspirations, advancement opportunities, two-career families, role conflict, administrative capabilities, and additional factors such as mobility, age, training, and experience.

The criteria used to identify organizational factors, sometimes referred to as structural barriers, were institutional patterns, practices, and rules, both formal and informal. Organizational factors include other aspects such as: admission requirements, recruitment practices, job requirements, hiring practices, and formal communication network.

Socialization

The effects of the socialization process which prepare women and men for their roles in society are ongoing and multidimensional. Uehling[8] remarked that the data in studies portrays women as less confident, less independent, less objective, and less logical than men. If this assertion were true, it follows that women would indeed be less qualified for administrative positions than men. Whether the statement is true or not--if women believe that it is true, if those who employ administrators believe it is true, women will not be considered for decision-making positions.

Gillie[9] stated that man's role is perceived as chief provider while a woman's role is that of mother and housekeeper. He wrote,

> In many places, the attitude toward professional women in vocational education remains chauvinistic. A continuation of the myth that certain occupations are male, and others female, still persists, and is likely to for a long time.... Such traditions, considered by some to be societal mechanisms for keeping women out of the occupational mainstream, will die hard--if at all.

Hornig[10] charged Freud and Erikson with introducing and popularizing myths of women's inferiority. These myths stereotype women as submissive, docile, accommodating, and passive. According to Lockheed and Patterson,[11] a commonly held myth suggests that women can work successfully as equals with men only [emphasis added] if they are modest, quiet, and inconspicuous. Kievit[12] indicated that many people think women should be happy in lower-paying jobs, allowing men, upon whom these women are dependent, to compete for the really important jobs.

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[8]Barbara Uehling, "Women and the Psychology of Management," p. 2.

[9]Angelo Gillie, Jr., "Women in Vocational Education," American Vocational Journal 49 (1974): 35.

[10]Lilli S. Hornig, "Affirmative Action through Affirmative Attitudes," Women in Academia: Evolving Policies toward Equal Opportunities, ed. Elga Wasserman, Arie Y. Lewin, and Linda H. Bleiweis (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), pp. 8-9.

[11]Marlene E. Lockheed and Katherine Hall Patterson, "Conceptualizing Sex as a Status Characteristic: Applications to Leadership Training Strategies," Journal of Social Issues 32 (Summer 1976): 111.

[12]Mary Bach Kievit, "Women's Expanding Roles: Implications for Vocational Education," Vocational Education for Special Groups 6th Yearbook, ed. James E. Wall (Washington, D.C.: American Vocational Association, 1976), p. 63.

Dale[13] stated that it will be difficult for those women who seek administrative positions to demonstrate their competency as long as their employers believe that women's primary duty is to serve men both in the home and the marketplace. The women interviewed in a study conducted by Sites[14] were not at all in agreement with the statement that it is a woman's primary role to be the feminine companion and mother in our society. In a 1976 study[15] 40 percent of the comprehensive high school administrators indicated that this was their perception.

Wiles and Wiles[16] also expressed concern about the limited research efforts that have been undertaken to focus on feminism as an internal organizational expectation and that no provision exists for understanding "the feminine dilemma" within the constraints of an organizational setting." There is a strong role induction process for male professors to develop congruency with role expectations that is not provided for women. Thus the women professors lack the cues necessary to become a part of the organization. They continue:

> Upon entry, the female faculty lack any predetermined or legitimized model of "appropriateness" upon which they can base other sexual or professional behavior.[17]

If the new female professor does not fit into one of the traditional modes, a "sex-role incongruency" occurs that provides explanation for the high degree of anxiety and frustration among female professors.[18] According to Schlossberg, both men and women are under pressure to adhere to the prescribed employment opportunities which society has determined appropriate for each gender. Schlossberg further stated, "...from their early years, women are prepared to be 'assistants to' rather than 'directors of.'"[19]

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[13]Catherine T. Dale et al., Wanted--More Women: Where Are the Women Superintendents? (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1973), p. 63.

[14]Patricia Tucker Sites, "Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1975), p. 65.

[15]Arlene F. Sarvas, "An Analysis of the Relationship between Perceptions of Vocational Female Faculty and Administrators toward Female Faculty in Four Institutional Types" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1976), p. 67.

[16]Marilyn Wiles and David K. Wiles, "Cross-referencing the Professorship, Male Induction and Female Sexuality Models: An Inherent 'Inappropriate Referrent,'" Educational Studies 8 (1977): 149.

[17]Ibid., p. 150. [18]Ibid., p. 153.

[19]Nancy Schlossberg, "The Right to be Wrong is Gone: Women in Academe," Educational Record 55 (February 1974): 258.

As female faculty move into nontraditional roles, the traditional socialization of some faculty will become a problem. Female faculty members will be destined to fail performance evaluation if those doing the evaluation do not believe that it is proper for women to take a stand, to make a decision, or to deal with conflict despite the fact that those very behaviors are required in their positions.[20] Condry and Dryer suggest that as changes occur in an aspect of the socialization patterns as has happened for women, modification will occur for men as well.[21]

> It is important to underline the fact that these roles are sufficiently interdependent so that if one set is to change both will have to.

Condry and Dryer reject the popular concept that fear of success is a sex-linked personality disposition. They indicated that the difficulties women have encountered are situational in nature and that it is inappropriate to use a gender predisposition to rationalize the inequities of society without first testing to determine if the predisposition is itself a reaction to social feedback. Rather, women may react in a certain way, selecting alternatives to correspond with societal expectations to avoid pain.

The women who opt for nontraditional roles are affected four ways by socialization processes in our society: 1) what they think about themselves, 2) what they think others think about them, 3) what others think about them, and 4) what others think they should think about the women. Women who wish to move beyond the limited options countenanced by society have encountered rigid barriers and denials. Vocational educators--the decision-makers in vocational education--historically have reflected what they perceived as society's needs. Given the rapid changes in technology and the market place, women's needs have changed dramatically. For vocational leaders to be bound by the old pathways is not only a discredit to themselves but also a disservice to the professional vocational education women.

The question must be raised as to the legitimacy of a decision-maker's rooting decisions in the myths of the past to the apparent exclusion of current data which clearly counters these outmoded myths. Is the decision-maker truly unaware or just unconcerned? Is this decision-maker being selective, or is it possible that those responsible for conveying current information to the decision-maker are withholding it?

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[20]Wiles and Wiles, "Cross-referencing," p. 149.

[21]John Condry and Sharon Dryer, "Fear of Success: Attribution of Cause to the Victim," Journal of Social Issues, 32 (Summer 1977): 77.

Career Aspirations

Career aspirations of women were examined and were found, in some studies, to be a possible factor with regard to the underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions. Career aspirations of women appear to be different from those of men. Some women place the needs of their families and husbands before opportunities for their own advancement.

Sites[22] surveyed 382 faculty women from area vocational schools (AVTS). The data suggested that not all the women in this study expected to bring closure to their careers as teachers. Some, 22 percent of the women respondents, indicated an interest in being promoted to administrative positions. However, many of the women perceived their opportunities for advancement as poor. Almost half of the 309 administrators in the study (it was unclear as to how many administrators were women) held a similar view about advancement opportunities. If the potential for advancement to administrative positions is not conveyed as an option for women, low career aspirations do not address the underlying issue. These same administrators--61 percent--agreed that a woman's professional career should be subservient to her husband's career.

Given the environment described above, it seems paradoxical that about 70 percent of both groups, administrators and faculty women, agreed that the higher the educational attainment of women, the greater the opportunities for advancement. One of the participants in Sites' study commented that she had more education than any of the males in her school; however, she had never been encouraged to consider an administrative position.

Zellman[23] reported that different life experiences can adversely affect women as they participate in the labor force. Women are often placed in sex-segregated, low-paying jobs which require little training and provide little, if any, incentives. Zellman suggests that it should not be assumed that women in these jobs possess low career aspirations. This suggestion gains reinforcement from Ortiz who found that as the ratio of women to men decreases, the position status level becomes higher. Career upward mobility is difficult for women.

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[22]Patricia Tucker Sites, "Roles of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools," p. 24.

[23]Gail L. Zellman, "The Role of Structural Factors in Limiting Women's Institutional Participation," Journal of Social Issues 32 (Summer 1976): 37.

> Because teaching is primarily staffed by women while administration is primarily staffed by men, it appears to be simpler and more natural for men than for women to depart from teaching. For women, a departure means assuming a position normally attributed to men.[24]

What may appear as low career aspirations may be the result of avoidance of disapproval or of "discomfort," as described by Wiles and Wiles in the socialization section.

Wood collected data from 14 Los Angeles companies that had hired women managers. Interviews and observational techniques were used to determine how the women in management roles were affecting the quality of work life. The findings indicated that both the women and men working with the women managers required little adjustment. However, two major problems were identified: 1) finding or motivating qualified women within the organization to seek advancement, and 2) resocialization of personnel throughout the company to the advancement possibilities for women. Wood suggests that some women are reluctant to move from a secure position to a more challenging one, while other women are experiencing role conflict regarding family and career goals.

> Women managers have the same problems as men managers; pressures of responsibility, problems with subordinates, accountability to top management. But the woman manager also has some unique problems because she holds the position that has long been considered a "man's job."[25]

Burk and Weir[26] maintained that too many women were unwilling to commit themselves to activities that would strengthen them in the pursuit of their career goals.

According to Fishel and Pottker,[27] the percentage and number of women teachers obtaining master's degrees and doctorates indicates that women are prepared for positions of leadership and that women with more experience are more likely to aspire to administrative positions than women teachers with less experience.

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[24]Flora Ida Ortiz, "The Hierarchical System of School Administration: The Contributions of Qualitative Research," (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Ontario, March 27-31, 1975), p. 5.

[25]Marion M. Wood, "Women in Management: How Is It Working Out?" SAM Advanced Management Journal 41 (Winter 1976): 22.

[26]Ronald J. Burke and Tamara Weir, "Readying the Sexes for Women in Management," Business Horizons 20 (June 1977): 30-35.

[27]Andrew Fishel and Janice Pottker, "Women Lose Out: Is There Sex Discrimination in School Administration?" The Clearing House 47 (March 1973): 389-390.

> In education, the present bias against placing women in leadership positions results in the educational top echelon being filled from a potential of one-third of those people in the profession. The talent of the other two-thirds of the profession is being wasted or at the very least underutilized.[28]

Neidig[29] surveyed Iowa superintendents and school board members. The superintendents were asked to report the number of women certified in their districts even though they were not serving as administrators. The 42 superintendents who responded reported a total of 95 women with administrative certification who were not serving in that capacity.

Steiger[30] examined the allegation that counselors often advise young women into typically feminine jobs. Young women tend to accept interest inventory feedback information as interpreted by the counselor and subsequently adjust their career aspirations to be consistent with the test results.

Obviously women have made different career decisions than men. It is not clear from the studies whether these differences result from early socialization that a woman's role is that of wife and mother or if they have been influenced by what women have been told is or is not appropriate work for women. One conclusion which can be made from these studies is that career influencers including counselors, parents, and significant others, can impact on career aspirations of women.

The question remains as to what the factors are that influence women to pursue nontraditional careers including administration.

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[28]Ibid., p. 390.

[29]Marilyn Boyd Neidig, "Women Applicants for Administrative Positions: Attitudes Held by Administrators and School Boards," (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1973), p. 103.

[30]JoAnn Steiger, "Vocational Preparation for Women: A Critical Analysis," pp. 13-14.

Advancement Opportunity

Limited advancement opportunities often result from attitudes women hold about themselves, about their sense of power or powerlessness, about their talent, and about the contribution they might make combined with the decision-maker's reluctance to break with traditionally held concepts of job-appropriateness for women and men.

Fitzpatrick[31] found in her study that the financial support for seeking additional training was more readily available to men than to women. A study conducted by Astin et al.[32] found that men received more financial support than women. In the 1970 Leadership Development Program for Vocational Education (EPDA), only 20 women out of 160 candidates were nominated by their respective states for the prestigious three-year doctoral program. With redirection to a one-year graduate leadership program, the number of women nominated increased to 147 out of the 347 candidates for 1974.33

Kievit[34] indicated that women were counseled not to seek advanced degrees based on the societal perception that women are unlikely to remain in the paid work force for an uninterrupted time. Instead, these women were counseled to confine themselves to caring for home and family. This kind of counseling, according to Kievit, inhibits career advancement of women.

Solmon[35] found that many admissions counselors perceived women as less likely to be employed after graduation than males.

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[31]Blanche Fitzpatrick, Women's Inferior Education: An Economic Analysis (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), p. 41.

[32]A.W. Astin et al., The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1974 (Los Angeles: Cooperative Institutional Research Program, 1974) cited in Helen S. Astin et al., "Sex Discrimination in Education: Access to Postsecondary Education, Executive Summary" (Los Angeles: Higher Education Institute, 1976), p. 26.

[33]Pamela A. Roby, "Vocational Education and Women" (Unpublished manuscript, University of California at Santa Cruz, 1975) cited in Kermeta Clayton Funderburk, "A Comparative Study of the Career Advancement of Female and Male Participants in the Vocational Education Leadership Development Program Funded under the Education Professions Development Act" (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Woman's University, 1977), p. 2.

[34]Mary Bach Kievit, "Will Jill Make Department Chairman?" American Vocational Journal 49 (November 1974): 42.

[35]Lewis C. Solmon, Male and Female Graduate Students: The Question of Equal Opportunity, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), p. 63.

The author attributed this perception to a lack of assistance from professors rather than a lack of motivation.[36] If professors do not consider women students as serious about their work as the men students, the professors may not encourage, inform, support, or recommend the women students. These women, in effect, are denied initial opportunities for employment and thus ultimately, opportunities for career advancement. Solmon stated that reputations of institutions are to some degree dependent on the success of their graduates and that men are more likely to strive for success. Therefore, it is to a university's benefit to admit and encourage more males.[37] Solmon also found in 21 of the 33 degree-granting institutions studied that women faculty reported difficulty in obtaining promotions.[38]

Astin's study refutes the perception that women withdraw from the labor market after earning advanced degrees. She found 91 percent of the women who obtained doctorates remained in the labor force and 81 percent were working full time.[39]

Ortiz and Covel[41] found that women were given low-level administrative positions with minimum visibility. The power positions, those that control personnel and finance, were most commonly held by men. She also found that when a superintendent sponsors a woman administrator, the woman is more likely to succeed and less likely to be locked into a low-level position. Neidig[42] found that more superintendents were willing to hire women as principals of elementary schools, fewer would hire women for high school principalships, and still fewer would hire women as assistant superintendents.

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[36]Ibid., pp. 62-63.

[37]Ibid., p. 22.

[38]Ibid., p. 113.

[39]Helen S. Astin, The Woman Doctorate in America: Origins, Career, and Family (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 57.

[40]Ortiz and Covel, "Women in School Administration," p. 3.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Neidig, "Women Applicants for Administrative Positions," p. 60.

Schmuck[43] found that, in Oregon, women who were appointed to the first-level administrative positions were unable to join the informal communication network comprised of males which may have impeded their advancement. The practice of conducting business informally over lunch and on the golf course excludes women. It makes little difference whether the woman is excluded deliberately or as an oversight. To function as effectively as her male colleagues, a woman administrator must gain access to the information network. Her exclusion from the informal communication network may seriously retard her career advancement.

In the Gross and Trask study, 90 percent of the men administrators were married, while only 33 percent of women administrators were. Married men who are administrators may translate their expectations from the home to the work place and thus impair the advancement opportunities for women.

> Women, in predominantly male work groups, can be perceived as threats to their male associates because of the manner in which sex roles are generally defined in our society. This is one reason why top positions are generally reserved for men and accounts, in part, for the obstacles that confront women who strive for advancement.[44]

Sites[45] found differences in the perceptions held by male directors of vocational education area schools and women faculty of the same institutions concerning advancement opportunities for women. Almost one-half of the women sampled perceived their opportunities for promotion to be poor. However, the male administrators saw the opportunities for women the same as those for men. Dale[46] indicated women have accepted being "second class citizens" and believe that their ambitions and aspirations are

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[43]Patricia A. Schmuck, "Deterrents to Women's Careers," Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration (North Arlington, Virginia: National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1975), pp. 346, 348.

[44]Neal Gross and Anne E. Trask, The Sex Factors and the Management of Schools (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976), p. 11

[45]Sites, "Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools," p. 9.

[46]Charlene T. Dale, "Women Are Still Missing Persons in Administrative and Supervisory Jobs," Educational Leadership 31 (November 1973): 123.

being quietly and permanently depressed. The author also stated that men do not consider women for promotion because the men assume women are not serious about their careers. Dale further reported, "Women don't want the responsibility, ...women can't handle the jobs, and women are too emotional."

Some women have refused opportunities to move from a teaching position to an administrative one according to Sites.[47] It is critical to understand that not all women aspire to the same kind of positions any more than all men strive for the same kind of work. Advancement for men is serious; advancement for women is serious. Maymi,[48] former Director of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, while discussing the needs and requests of women, indicated that there are women who want the opportunity for advancement.

Fischer[49] interviewed Dr. Mary Berry, who is now Special Assistant to Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Joseph Califano, about the advancement opportunities of women faculty. Dr. Berry indicated that male colleagues are a bigger enemy to the promotion of women than administrators. Dr. Berry quoted a female student who related a male professor's saying, "You don't want to hire a woman because she is habitually late to work and eventually will get pregnant." Competency gets confused with sociability at times; Berry continued:

> The colleges want someone who fits in well, the kind of person you'd like to take to the faculty club for a drink or someone just like the rest of them.[50]

Thus, those responsible for hiring or promoting are more likely to recommend individuals who are similar to themselves. As men predominate in the decision-making positions, it is not difficult to predict the likelihood that women will be excluded from selection. For some male decision-makers, it would be disquieting for them to appoint a woman. Others would consider such a move disruptive and unacceptable.

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[47]Sites, "Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools," p. 9.

[48]Carmen R. Maymi, "Career Education: Projecting into the 21st Century," (Paper presented before the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C., March 1976), pp. 4-5.

[49]Ruth Fischer, "Black, Female--and Qualified," Change 6 (December-January 1974): 13-16.

[50]Ibid., p. 14.

Touchton and Shavlik[51] reinforce findings of the homogeneity hypothesis syndrome highlighting the variables included, e.g., social class, race, sex and even geographical region. The exclusion of those who are regarded as different and who are, therefore, perceived as not fitting in, limits the pool of potential leaders to half the population if we assume an equal number of female and male faculty from which the potentials emerge. The homogeneity hypothesis is further illustrated in a study by Socolow.[52] This study was based on notices which appeared over a five-week interval in The Chronicle of Higher Education for Associate Deans, Deans, Vice Presidents, and Provosts in four-year colleges and universities.

> "The most striking finding of the study was a clear persistence of all the institutions in drawing only from a traditional pool of candidates. All institutions in the sample, save one, hired individuals from within academe. The new incumbents all had met the necessary, traditional criteria of first serving in lower status academic administrative posts and, in most instances, also in professional positions. Not only were there no observable new patterns of occupational mobility but there was no marked geographical movement, and no significant mobility among types and categories in higher education institutions."[53]

The question must be raised, as it was by the authors, about the value of conformity as it attempts to equate with quality. Touchton and Shavlik concluded by stating,

> "...the systems must change to accommodate women--not only because it is fair and just to do so but also because a huge pool of creative and effective talent should not be eliminated.[54]

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[51]Judith Touchton and Donna Shavlik, "Challenging the Assumptions of Leadership: Women and Men of the Academy," New Directions for Higher Education, 22 (1978), p. 100.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Daniel J. Socolow, "How Administrators Get Their Jobs," Change 10 (1978): 42-43, 54, as quoted in Touchton and Shavlik, "Challenging the Assumptions of Leadership: Women and Men of the Academy," p. 101.

[54]Touchton and Shavlik, "Challenging the Assumptions of Leadership: Women and Men of the Academy," p. 105.

Hennig and Jardim,[55] in The Managerial Woman, lent some understanding to the problem when they wrote

> If we think of the men who belong to these informal systems as the insiders: people who understand and support each other, the structure, and the rules; people who share common aspirations and dreams; people who grew up with similar backgrounds; who played together, learned together, competed together; and concurrently we think of how differently women grow up: their different orientations, expectations, aspirations and experiences--then we can begin to understand why in spite of the law, very little may really have changed for women.

Touchton and Shavlik suggested that the critical beliefs and assumptions that men and women hold about themselves and each other often result in different styles, emphasis, and ways of responding to typical management situations. It is, therefore, little wonder that some translation is needed between male and female managers.[56]

To assume that all women desire to enter the administrative ranks is not viable. Nor is it viable to assume that no women are interested or can handle administration. One must ask when competency, interest, and ability will be the deciding factors rather than a gender qualification. Educational decision-makers can no longer afford the luxury of perpetuating false assumptions to exclude a specific segment of society.

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[55]Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim, The Managerial Woman, (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977), p. xiii.

[56]Touchton and Shavlik, "Challenging the Assumptions of Leadership: Women and Men of the Academy," p. 99.

Two-Career Family

In the past, two-career families were made up of a career of homemaker for the woman and a career in the paid work force for the man. Decisions concerning the importance of either career were not raised. The issue has been raised only when the homemaking career has not kept pace in status and in economic benefits with the paid work force. Where it was the practice at one time that the woman withdraw from the work force when children were involved, it is not as likely to occur now. In 1975, some 11.4 million of the 21.1 million married women (husbands present) who were in the labor force had children under 18 years of age, which is 5.4 percent of the married working women with husbands present. Of this same group, 2.2 million were working to supplement their husbands' low incomes.[57]

Women's employment patterns and career patterns have been uneven at best. Society has made conflicting demands on women, depending on the state of national affairs. During National emergencies, women have been called upon to contribute their support including participation in the labor force; however, at the conclusion of the emergency, women are pressured to return to the home and discontinue their participation in the paid work force.

Other factors including increased longevity, coupled with increased leisure time, have had an impact on the career patterns of women. According to Kreps,

> Recent changes in women's working patterns can be explained by several major factors: the events of the Second World War, a growth in the services sector of the economy, improvements in household technology, and reductions in family size.[58]

As women began to enter the paid labor force, they also began to have opportunities for advancement which conflicted with the needs of their husbands. Sites[59] found that most women indicated that their husbands' careers took precedence; one female

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[57]U.S. Department of Labor, "Why Women Work" (Washington, DC: Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, 1976), p. 2.

[58]Juanita M. Kreps, Women and the American Economy (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 63.

[59]Sites, "Role of Professional Women and Area Vocational Schools," p. 9.

faculty participant indicated, however, that she did not like the situation. Other women said they did not believe the husband's career was more important, acknowledging that the husband sometimes demanded that his career be considered more important. Still other women in the study said their families were always first, with their career needs considered only after family obligations were met. According to Maymi,

> Women want assurance that their child-bearing capacity will not be used as an excuse to limit their role in society and force them, alone, into child-rearing responsibilities. They want men to share actively in the responsibilities of child rearing and family life.[60]

Gross and Trask found work endeavors of women were often perceived as secondary to those of the male bread-winner. Therefore women in the work force did not command the same salaries, training, and advancement opportunities as their male counterparts.[61]

In her keynote address to the 1978 Convention of the American Association for Higher Education, Goodman[62] observed that there is an emergence of transitional life styles. Instead of holding steadfastly to the traditional patterns, questions are being asked about the sex roles. Some contend that this issue is a strictly personal one. At times this is so, "...but we all know that personal lives are very much affected by public policy."[63]

As the rigidity of sex role definitions diminishes and public policy alters, it seems likely that advancement opportunities will be based on competency rather than an individual's sex. Vlahos[64] found that respondents disagreed with the statement, "If a husband and his wife applied for a job, all other things being equal, the male would be hired." However, as the years of employment in the position increased, the tendency to agree with the statement increased.

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[60]Maymi, "Career Education, Projecting into the 21st Century," p. 5.

[61]Gross and Trask, The Sex Factor and the Management of Schools, p. 11.

[62]Ellen Goodman, "Lives in Transition: The New Middle Ground," Current Issues in Higher Education, 1978 National Conference Series, Washington, D.C., p. 11.

[63]Ibid., p. 12.

[64]Martha Vlahos, Survey of the Status of Women, Institutional Research Report No. 7, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida: Brovard Community College, Report No. IRR-7 (March 1975), pp. 6, 10.

The author also observed that as the age of the respondent decreased, the attitude toward having a wife or husband in the same department increased in acceptability. At that point in time, a snapshot of perceptions was presented. It would be interesting to follow these participants to determine if, as the respondents age, their attitudes shift toward the view reported in this study or, if, in fact, the study is a picture only at a point which could maintain close linkages with traditions of the past.

Another aspect which influences opportunities to both persons in a two-career family relates to graduate study. Krohn[65] found that few colleges make concessions in terms of time to complete a program, entry age, rigid class schedules, financial assistance only to those enrolled full time, etc. Small wonder that this selective process results in a lower percentage of women receiving advanced degrees. Solmon[66] concluded that marriage has a positive effect for men and a negative effect for women pursuing educational studies. Women frequently interrupt their graduate studies to move with the husband, bear children, or care for children. Campus environments often do not adequately provide for the unique needs of women. As was reported earlier, only 10 percent of the men administrators--as against two-thirds of the women administrators--were not married.[67]

King[68] cited a 1969 study conducted by Nelson and Goldman of men's attitudes toward women working for pay. Attitudes toward women working for pay were reported to be very liberal; however, the men's attitudes were vastly different when asked with respect to their own wives working for pay.

In summary, one can only question the system of rewards and values our society attributes to wars and other national emergencies as contrasted with the lack of rewards, and the devaluing of women as they maintain the family and child-rearing functions.

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[65]Barbara Krohn, "The Puzzling Case of the Missing Ms.," Nation's Schools and Colleges , 1 (November 1974): 35.

[66]Solmon, Male and Female Graduate Students, p. 15.

[67]Gross and Trask, Sex Factor and the Management of Schools, p. 11.

[68]Elizabeth Camp King, "The Status of Women Working in Community Colleges," American Vocational Journal, November 1974, pp. 38-39.

Role Conflict

Nixon and Gue[69] found that many women who think the wife and mother role is best, seldom, if ever, seek administrative positions. Barkley[70] reported expressions of guilt and uneasiness by working mothers who were unable to find satisfactory child care. These women suffered not from the dilemma of "to work for pay or not" but from the inability to adequately meet their other responsibilities. Sites[71] found that women faculty believed the conflict of managing a home as well as a career to be greater than vocational directors perceived it to be. Johnson[72] indicated that women who are managing both a home and a job must be able to cope with the different roles and different expectations arising from career and a family. Two full-time jobs require management expertise.

Schmuck[73] conducted a series of interviews with ten men and thirty women in the Oregon public schools and county agencies in the summer of 1974. The respondents, selected from the Oregon School Directory, represented various levels of administration, including: supervisors, superintendents, principals, directors and coordinators. Schmuck interviewed respondents concerning their backgrounds: how they have obtained their jobs, whether they had noted differences between male and female administrators, whether or not they have observed instances of sex discrimination, and whether women and men administrators had to meet different criteria in their jobs. The thirty female administrators interviewed concurred that a woman's traditional role in the family often restricts her freedom with regard to her career.

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[69]Mary Nixon and L.R. Gue, "Women Administrators and Women Teachers: A Comparative Study," The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 21 (September 1975): 197.

[70]Margaret V. Barkley et al., Clinics for Administrators of Women in Occupational Education: Final Report 1974-1975. (Arizona State Department of Education, Phoenix: Division of Career and Vocational Education, 1975).

[71]Sites, "Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools," p. 9.

[72]Barbara P. Johnson, "Women Marketers: Their Aspirations and Frustrations," Product Marketing, 6 (January 1977): 20.

[73]Patricia S. Schmuck, Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration (North Arlington, Virginia, National Council of Administrative Women, 1975), p. 13.

In the past, women remained at home to attend to the children; when they returned to the paid labor force, they found their skills had become obsolete or their previous experience was no longer considered valid. Many women, according to Maymi,[74] opt for removal of the stereotype which relegates the full responsibility for home and family to women. They expressed concern that the child-rearing responsibilities were sometimes a career handicap. The declining birth rate and increased labor force participation of women implies that many women may already have made a decision with regard to family and career choice.

Neidig[75] surveyed superintendents and school board members and reported that 24 percent of the superintendents (more male than female) felt that women's education is too costly since the years of service are interrupted for marriage and children. Of the male school board members, 39.5 percent also felt that a "woman's major role should be in the home." For male board members, 37.5 percent felt that women cannot combine the duties of homemaker and professional and really do justice to their professional duties. Of the superintendents, 40.5 percent agreed with the statement, "...the employment of women in administrative positions leads to the unemployment of male administrative applicants." Neidig comments:

> There were 18.5 million married women, with husbands in the home, in the paid work force as of March 1971. The number of unemployed men was 3 million. If all the employed women stayed home, there would be 15.5 million unfilled jobs. In many cases, the unemployed men do not have the education or the skill to qualify for the jobs held by women.[76]

King[77] found about 90 percent of the vocational women faculty surveyed in public community colleges agreed with the

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[74]Maymi, "Career Education, Projecting into the 21st Century," p. 5.

[75]Neidig, "Women Applicants for Administrative Positions: Attitudes Held by Administrators and School Boards," (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1973), p. 103.

[76]Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[77]Elizabeth Camp King, "Perceptions of Female Vocational Faculty Members as Seen by Themselves and College Administrators," (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1974), pp. 59-63, 104-106.

statement that it was fine for the women to work as long as the children were adequately cared for. Only 70 percent of the women felt that professional women think of employment as a life-time career. Of the women respondents, 90 percent indicated that women have a need to succeed in their career fields. Yet only 65 percent of the women respondents agreed with the statement that women are likely to achieve positions of leadership in public community colleges, and 76 percent felt that chances of promotion to the next academic rank were only fair.

Ellis[78] pointed out the fact that women now have greater control over the number of children they will have, and the trend toward smaller families will continue as women fulfill their desire to either remain in the paid work force entirely or to withdraw only a short time while the children and home are making greater demands. As long as career advancement is impeded by unshared child-rearing responsibilities, the likelihood that birth rates will increase is remote.

Dale[79] stated that men believe that women do not want administrative responsibilities and that they are too emotional to handle the job. Krohn[80] suggested that some school systems still act upon the belief that women do not want administrative positions because their home responsibilities would keep them from effectively conducting the responsibilities of their position. Krohn believes that the underrepresentation of women in education administration is part myth and partly related to hiring practices based on sex-typed expectations. The report of the National Council for Administrative Women in Education (NCAWE) in 1973 states, "...that there exists a mass of unexamined assumptions about the proper role of men and women." Most school systems, according to the Council,

> ...are unable to distinguish between women who want to make teaching their final goal and women who want administrative responsibilities. Instead of looking at women administrators as individuals, the system draws the same conclusions about all women; that their home responsibilities keep them from doing well in administration, that they don't want demanding jobs, that they are too emotional, that they have to stop work to have babies.[81]

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[78]Mary Ellis, Women at Work: Career and Vocational Education Professional Development, Report 16. (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, Center for Occupational Education, 1974), p. 19.

[79]Dale, "Women Are Still Missing Persons in Administrative and Supervisory Jobs," p. 123.

[80]Krohn, "The Puzzling Case of the Missing Ms.," Nation's Schools and Colleges, 1 (November 1974): 35.

[81]Ibid., p. 35.

Krohn reported that research had documented that women and men who report to women administrators have a more favorable view of women in that role than those who have never worked for a woman administrator.[82]

Muhich[83] found that single and divorced women often hold higher-ranking jobs than married women. Decision-makers may assume single or divorced women will not be uprooted by a husband transferring to a new area which would impede a married woman's advancement opportunities. The critical issue here is not so much why different attitudes seem to exist toward the employability of women who are married as it is the decision-makers' use of non-job-related inferences to make job-related decisions. Those persons recruiting candidates must consider all available applicants. Employers can no longer assume that one-half of the potential candidates, if there would be an equal number of female and male candidates, are not serious about career advancement.

The questions raised in this section are articulated by the NCAWE Report. Can employers justify treating men and women differently by giving special consideration to men for military service and not to women for child rearing? Can employers commit themselves to helping their new male administrators succeed, while rarely doing the same for women? Can society continue to justify present hiring innuendos suggesting that men (or women) do not want to work for women?

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[82]Ibid.

[83]Delores Muhich, "Discrimination against Women in Educational Administration," (Paper read before the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors at Chicago, December 1973), p. 18.

Administrative Capabilities

One misconception which is often acted upon in employing administrators is the belief that men possess innate administrative abilities. A number of studies question the validity of this assumption.

Hoyle,[84] in a 1969 article, stated that even though boards of education seem to prefer men for administrative positions, research indicated that women were as qualified or even better qualified for some administrative tasks. The author cited Nowell, who found that female elementary school principals showed more evidence of being aware of the cognitive factors involved in the learning process than male administrators. Hoyle, and Fishel and Pottker[85] cited other studies (Wiles and Grobman and Hines) as having found that women ranked significantly ahead of men as democratic leaders in school administration. Hoyle conducted a study where problem-attack behavior of 21 male and 9 female principals was assessed by 314 teachers. The data revealed that the female administrators were described as noticing potential problem situations and as reviewing results of action significantly more frequently than male administrators. No differences were found on the other three variables. It was suggested that, because the female principals had acquired an increased teaching experience level, their sensitivity to problems of female teachers may have accounted for the differences. However, regardless of the source of the differences, it would seem the boards of education would be well advised to employ women principals.

A 1959 Michigan study found that teachers with the least experience and those with the greatest amount of experience tended to prefer female principals. In the same study, it was found that male teachers who had previously taught in schools with female principals were far more favorable toward them than were male teachers without this experience.

> This last finding shows that emotional prejudice enters the scene regarding male teachers' views of female principals. Men are suspicious of working under women unless they have in fact had this experience. This experience mediates their fears

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[84]John Hoyle, "Who Shall Be Principal--A Man or a Woman?" The National Elementary Principal 48 (January 1979): 23-24.

[85]Andrew Fishel and Janice Pottker, "Women Lose Out: Is There Sex Discrimination in School Administration?" The Clearing House 47 (March 1978): 387.

and apparently results in a higher acceptance of being subordinate to a woman than the man who has not been in this position.[86]

A 1968 Michigan study[87] suggested that women principals more often spoke and acted as representatives of the group, were more persuasive in their arguments, gave more emphasis to production, and maintained more cordial relationships with superiors. However, the male principals showed greater tolerance of freedom in their staff. A 1971 New York study categorized principals in three dimensions: as maintaining their own value system, assuming the community's preference at the expense of their own judgment, and combining the two sources depending on the situation. Proportionately, fewer women principals adhered exclusively to their own value system. The women principals used the situational approach which makes the women especially well suited for administrative positions in urban areas where community groups are making increased demands for a voice in educational decisions.[88] In addition, Gross and Trask[89] found that students actually learned better--the mean score on pupils' academic performance was higher--in schools which employed women principals.

It is a common belief that authority and autonomy are closely correlated, that supervisory positions involve authority, and that women should not be supervisors. Wolfe and Fligsten[90] conducted a longitudinal study relating to this issue with 10,317 Wisconsin 1957 high school graduates. Five questions were asked, three relating to authority levels and two about autonomy. The results of their study showed that men were more likely to be concentrated at the extremes of the status position level distributions than women. In terms of power, women are less likely to have control over the work of others. The authors stated that the differences were due to the effects of sex on authority and autonomy and were more pronounced when controlling a class of workers.

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[86]Ibid., p. 388.

[87]Ibid., p. 389.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Gross and Trask, Sex Factor and Management of Schools, p. 180.

[90]Wendy C. Wolfe and Neal D. Fligsten, "Sexual Stratification: Differences in Power in the Work Setting," (Discussion Papers for the Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977), pp. 9-10,14,31.

Ekland,[91] President of Equitable Life Assurance Society, in a speech delivered at New York University, acknowledged that sex labelling of occupations persists and is likely to continue for some time. Barkley[92] reported on the format of a series of clinics for administrators of women in occupational education held in 1975. The format had three parts: 1) information about state and federal employment laws; 2) identification of major problems women encounter; and 3) development of plans of action for local school districts to resolve the problems. Some of the problems encountered included: fear of change, husband's attitude toward the wife's job, lack of quality day-care, and sex prejudice. Among the recommendations resulting from the clinic sessions, active recruitment and promotion of women to administrative positions as a plan of action was proposed.

Women who serve in administrative positions are confronted by a number of problems arising from the traditional socialization process. Nixon and Gue[93] indicated that women who successfully work in jobs which are traditionally considered male-appropriate, may be ostracized socially and labeled as anti-feminine or unfeminine. According to Sites[94] the women in her study did not believe it was necessary for women to assume male behaviors or to dress in a masculine manner in order to be successful. Johnson[95] recognized women are socialized to be nice, friendly, polite, and patient. These socialized behaviors may impede women who, as administrators, need to express to workers what is expected of them.

Hooyman and Kaplan[96] remind their readers that women are only recently moving into positions where men must relate to

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[91]Coy C. Ekland, "Women in Business," Vital Speeches 42 (15 June 1976): 35.

[92]Margaret V. Barkley, Clinics for Administrators of Women in Occupational Education: A Final Report (Phoenix: Arizona State Department of Education, Division of Career and Vocational Education, 1975), pp. 2-3,15.

[93]Nixon and Gue, "Women Administrators, Teachers," p. 198.

[94]Sites, "Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools," p. 65.

[95]Johnson, "Women Marketers: Aspirations and Frustrations," p. 20.

[96]Nancy R. Hooyman and Judith S. Kaplan, "New Roles for Professional Women: Skills for Change," Public Administration Review 36 (July-August 1976): 376.

them as equals, and it is still difficult for men not to perceive a woman as a female first and a colleague second. A dilemma exists which often confuses the tasks of the administrator with the behaviors expected of males and females. This confusion of roles can function as a barrier to the advancement of women in administration. The difficulty in resolving role perception is not confined to only men, but women must also resolve the role conflict which they may experience by pursuing careers traditionally identified as male-appropriate. Additionally, those responsible for hiring need to overcome their internal biases and employ persons based on performance rather than the gender criterion. The comments of superintendents and board members reported by Neidig summarize many of the views held by persons who are influential in the hiring and promoting of individuals into decisionmaking roles.

> "Even if the candidates were equally qualified and I had to choose between the male and the female I would probably choose the male." Another replied, "Quite honestly I have had little contact with female administrators so I question whether my answers really reflect learned prejudices." A board member remarked, "I believe male administrators do a better job, command more respect, and young people need a male image because of so many women teachers." Another board member, "I think society has many notions about the roles of persons of one sex or the other which should be overcome in order to utilize the energies and skills of persons."[97]

What will be the motivating factors to cause the decisionmakers of educational institutions to implement an employment practice which would reflect appointments made on the basis of competencies rather than gender? What are the backgrounds and competencies that are needed? What influences are present to cause a change in the competencies identified?

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[97]Neidig, "Women Applicants for Administrative Positions," p. 106.

Mobility

According to a recent poll surveying 724 female and male executives, the University of Michigan found that more money and more challenging work were the major reasons cited for relocation.[98] Curby's dissertation substantiates this finding with regard to the field of education.

Curby,[99] in her dissertation, addresses the issue of geographic mobility as it relates to women who serve as administrators of institutions of higher education. Her target population included 1601 women administrators who were members of either the American Association of Higher Education or the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors as of October 1977. The purpose of Curby's research was to identify the relationship between selected characteristics, e.g., age, marital status, family size, academic degree, etc., of women administrators, and their geographic mobility.

The findings of this study differ from previous studies and from general opinion. The main difference found was that being single or married and living with spouse was not related to geographic mobility.[100]

The respondents identified the reasons they would relocate beyond fifty miles from their present residence as follows: higher salary, promotional opportunities afforded at the new institution, promotion to a higher level of administration, and the competence and congeniality of colleagues. Of the respondents, 75 percent indicated a willingness to relocate if the conditions for employment were met.[101]

The constraints on geographic mobility included such factors as spouse's job, age, friends, and community ties. The characteristics which had more significant influence on geographic mobility included: being over fifty-five years of age, having three or more children with ages between six and twenty-one, home ownership, and years of service with the present employer.[102]

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[98]"Who Says You Can't Get Executives to Move?" TWA Ambassador, October 1978, p. 24.

[99]Vicki Morgan Curby, "Geographic Mobility of Women Administrators in Higher Education," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1978), p. 38.

[100]Ibid., p. 98.

[101]Ibid., p. 99.

[102]Ibid., p. 100.

From these findings, Curby concluded that women administrators demonstrated 1) a propensity to geographic mobility, 2) that economics as well as other factors are reasons for willingness to move geographically, and 3) that job-related factors rather than personal factors justify relocation.[103]

Wolfe and Flingstein, in their study regarding women in administrative positions, cite other studies which have found that one of the reasons employers believe that women should not be in positions of authority is that travel for work would be restricted.[104]

Collins[105] reports various ways in which women who are in upper echelon education administration positions have managed mobility. Some women made agreements with their spouse to take turns at career opportunities. Others live in separate states and/or cities from their spouses and travel between the two locations. Collins points out that "...mobility doesn't guarantee a woman a good job in educational administration but it helps."[106]

The question must be asked whether unfounded assumptions about lack of geographic mobility and inability of women to travel should continue to dominate the thinking of the decision-makers in their making of appointments to administrative positions.

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[103]Ibid., p. 108.

[104]Francine Blau and Carol Jusenius, "Economists' Approaches to Sex Segregation in Labor Market--An Appraisal." Signs 1 (Spring): 181-200, and Valerie Opperheimer, "The Female Labor Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition, Population Monograph Series, No. 5., cited in Wendy E. Wolfe and Neil D. Fligstein, "Sexual Stratification: Differences in Power in the Work Setting," (Discussion papers for the Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1977), p. 8.

[105]Lorraine Collins, "About Those Few Females Who Scale the Heights of School Management," The American School Board Journal 163 (June 1976): 26.

[106]Ibid.

Experience

According to Niedermeyer and Kramer's[107] findings, women have more years of experience before obtaining administrative positions. They[108] cited an NEA study completed in 1969 which found that 51 percent of women administrators had taught ten to nineteen years in elementary classrooms, while 51 percent of the men had taught only two to nine years. Furthermore, nearly 25 percent of the women assistant principals had taught twenty or more years while only 2.2 percent of the men reported such extensive service.

It seems those women occupying administrative positions in education had had far more teaching experience than their male colleagues. Neidig[109] cited Gast who found that women elementary principals have substantially more experience both as classroom teachers and building principals than their male counterparts. The mean number of years for men was eight years in the classroom before becoming a principal, whereas for women the mean was about eighteen years of classroom experience.

Collins found that women moved into administrative positions much more slowly than men. Women advance up the administrative ladder one rung at a time, arriving at their zenith with a wealth of experience in the fundamentals of public education.[110] She quoted one woman as saying,

> The main advantage of remaining in one school district is that a woman can prove her talents and skills in full view of the board, staff, and community.[111]

Women administrators often possess more classroom experience than men in administration. According to Gross and Trask,[112]

> In comparison with men, women principals typically are more experienced as teachers; they know a great

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[107]Gretchen Niedermeyer and Vicki W. Kramer, Women in Administrative Positions in Public Education: A Position Paper (Philadelphia, PA: Recruitment, Leadership and Training Institute, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1974), p. 37.

[108]Ibid., p. 12.

[109]Neidig, "Women Applicants for Administrative Positions," p. 12.

[110]Collins, "About Those Few Females," p. 24.

[111]Ibid., p. 26.

[112]Gross and Trask, Sex Factor and Management of Schools, p. 62.

> deal about elementary education; and they know how to handle the problems confronting children more effectively; moreover, male principals are so interested in moving up the administration ladder that they tend to neglect the professional leadership facet of their relationship with their teachers.

The authors also found,

> Forty-six percent of the men and 10 percent of the women get administrative appointments within ten years of the first teaching appointment; 27 percent of the women and only 6 percent of the men had 26 years of experience before principalships.

Collins,[113] in her study of women school administrators, stated that at least one respondent suggested that women are not taken seriously until they get older so they are not looked at any longer as feminine objects but as persons and as administrators.

Collins suggested that coaching positions for men provide them with opportunities for demonstrating their administrative skills. The coaching field has traditionally afforded men an important avenue for advancement and has been denied to women.

Dearing[114] maintained the work experience of women is perceived differently than work experience of men. He cited a series of dilemmas as enunciated by Bernice Sandler which confronts women pursuing administrative positions. These dilemmas are as follows: If a woman is single, her experience is not considered because it is assumed that she will marry and leave the profession; if she is married, her experience is not taken seriously because it is assumed that she will follow her husband if he is transferred; and if she returns to the paid work force after child rearing it is assumed her experience is too limited for administrative consideration.

Muhich[115] found, regarding institutions of higher education, that although the men who responded to her study stated

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[113]Collins, "About Those Few Females," p. 25.

[114]Bruce Dearing, "The Opening Address," (Read at the conference on Women and Management of Postsecondary Institutions, Syracuse, NY, December 12-14, 1973), pp. 1-2.

[115]Muhich, "Discrimination against Women," p. 12.

that gender was not important, it was actually a better predictor of rank than experience. Dale[116] contrasted the different compensations associated with activities pursued by men and women. Men are rewarded for interrupting their careers to defend their country, whereas penalties are imposed upon women for interrupting their careers to bear and raise children. What does this tell women about the value of attending to family concerns and needs?

Age

As a factor contributing to the underrepresentation of women in administration, age was mentioned with less frequency than other factors. When age was included, both youth and advancing maturity were identified as handicaps rather than positive attributes. Niedermeyer and Kramer[117] suggested women may make the decision to seek administrative positions as early as men, but, because of their age, are not considered as serious candidates. It appears that men are often hired with minimum experience but projecting potential, whereas women are considered only when they possess numerous years of experience.

Gross and Trask[118] found, in their study of elementary principals, the mean age for women was 54.3 as compared to 49.2 for men. They also found a greater percentage of men in age groups 20-29, 30-39, and 40-49; while the greater percentage of women were in age groups 50-59 and 60-69. Muhich[119] reports the Taylor study of 1972 as finding the average age for male administrators to be 33 and the average age for women administrators, 37. Pallante and Hilton[120] found that "Women who hold administrative positions are older and are being replaced by younger men, although female resources are available." Barlow[121] recommended, in a study to design a model for occupational administrators, that a vocational administrator be over 40.

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[116]Dale et al., Wanted More Women--Where Are Women Superintendents, p. 5.

[117]Niedermeyer and Kramer, "Women in Administrative Positions," p. 37.

[118]Gross and Trask, Sex Factor and Management of Schools, p. 20.

[119]Muhich, "Discrimination against Women," p. 21.

[120]James J. Pallante and Cheryl L. Hilton, "Authority Positions for Women Principalships in Public Education," Contemporary Education 48 (Summer 1977): 208.

[121]Melvin Barlow, "Opinions of Community College Presidents and Deans of Occupational Education Concerning a Doctoral Program to Prepare Occupational Education Administrators: A Pilot Study," (Los Angeles: University of California, February 1974), p. 1.

The question relating to age seems to focus on the fact that women are older when an administrative appointment is made. With studies tending to show that women, as administrators, are performing as well as or better than the men, is this success attributable to maturity in years? Moreover, can decision-makers continue to assume that younger women are not serious about their pursuit of careers?

Training

In considering additional factors affecting the underrepresentation of women in administrative positions, training opportunities must also be addressed. Women have not been admitted to graduate programs in proportion to the number of men graduate students. Furthermore, women graduate students do not approximate their undergraduate numbers.[122] It is difficult to conclude whether the lack of women's participation in graduate programs is the result of discriminatory admissions policies and practices or whether women indeed are not interested in advanced training. Kievit substantiates the former practice as she reported, relative to advanced degree opportunities in vocational education,

> Of the 216 EPDA fellowships granted to vocational educators between 1970-1973, with three years of doctoral study, 32, about 15 percent, were awarded to women.[123]

It was also reported by Solmon[124] that differences in financial support for males and for females pursuing graduate studies may contribute to the disproportionate enrollment. Solmon said that women tend to be enrolled in graduate programs which provide minimum financial assistance. Lacking financial assistance may be one reason that some women do not complete graduate programs. Another reason which may cause women not to pursue graduate training is the number of women with credentials who are underemployed, particularly in education administration.

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[122]Sally L. Dias, "The Aspiration Levels of Women for Administrative Careers in Education: Predictive Factors and Implications for Effecting Change," (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association, San Francisco, April 19-23, 1976), pp. 55,59.

[123]Kievit, "Women's Expanding Roles: Vocational Education," p. 5.

[124]Solmon, Male and Female Graduate Students, p. 15.

Maymi[125] contended that women want equal access to education, vocational guidance, and training. Collins[126] mentioned that women earned their doctorates to avoid invisibility "...a Ph.D. makes it harder for boards to ignore you." Dearing[127] remarked that women are encouraged to get credentials; but when they have them, they are told they lack experience.

In a pilot study to design a model for training occupational education leaders with special interests in the role of community colleges, Barlow[128] reported the following desirable characteristics: aggressiveness, enthusiasm, energy, and thoroughness. Barlow further recommends that the vocational administrator should be over 40 and be a male [emphasis added].[129] Such criteria may indeed result in unequal consideration and access to administrative positions for women.

In the interviews conducted by Niedermeyer and Kramer[130] the statement that women were not qualified for administration was made repeatedly. Yet, upon asking, she discovered that detailed information was lacking with regard to teachers who were qualified for administrative positions. Blanchard[131] corroborated Niedermeyer and Kramer's findings, and reported that in his interviews respondents indicated a lack of qualified women prepared for administrative positions. This was further corroborated by Fishel and Pottker.[132] However, in their study the

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[125]Maymi, "Career Education, Projecting into the 21st Century," p. 18.

[126]Collins, "About Those Few Females," p. 42.

[127]Dearing, "Women and Management: Secondary Institutions," p. 1.

[128]Barlow, "Opinions...To Prepare Occupational Education Administrators," p. 33.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Niedermeyer and Kramer, "Women in Administrative Positions," p. 37.

[131]Paul D. Blanchard, "The Impact of Sex Discrimination in the Recruitment of Educational Policy Makers," (Paper presented at the Southeastern Conference of the Society for Public Administration, Miami Beach, Florida, October 19-21, 1976), p. 5.

[132]Fischel and Pottker, "Women Lose Out: Sex Discrimination in School Administration," p. 390.

assumption was refuted by the number of women found who do hold Ph.D.'s and are qualified for such positions.

The question becomes, is the decisionmaker accepting hearsay, repeating misinformation, or using factual data to support statements such as, "We would gladly hire a woman if we could only find one qualified."?

Conclusion

A number of factors have emerged in the literature to support reasons for and explanations of the underrepresentation of women in administrative positions in vocational education. Overgeneralizations about women perpetuate the stereotyping and tend to discredit highly qualified, conscientious, dedicated professional vocational education women. Unbridled biases and prejudices can and do result in discriminatory practices. The current employment status of women in vocational administration should be scrutinized carefully.

Efforts to develop a sound data base about women and their competencies and aspirations in regard to increasing their representation in vocational education administration should be enhanced. When the male leadership in vocational education enunciates the issue of increasing sex fairness, the strength of the rhetoric is found to be wanting in comparison to the practices followed.

Understanding their legal rights and using legal avenues provided for in the Acts and courts may become a necessary intervention strategy for women to use to bring about the needed chance for increasing their representation in the top echelons of administration. Through the efforts of those committed to the advancement of equality of opportunity in education and in the world of work, many stereotypes have been disproved; other stereotypes have been rendered useless.

It is no longer acceptable to assume that

- women are not qualified. Women have been qualified and they are qualified now to be appointed to top echelon administrative positions in vocational education.
- administrative positions are reserved exclusively for men. Too many women have made significant contributions to the educational scene and they continue to do so.
- women do not want responsible decisionmaking positions. Women have prepared for and committed themselves to leadership, especially with the impetus provided by the vocational education leadership development programs

- advancement opportunities for women are the same as they have been for men. Research studies have proved that they are not.

- women should stay at home and be wife and mother. Unless that is their choice--if it is a choice--it is a worthy one.

- two-career families are somewhat of a novelty in today's society. It is the practice not the exception.

- geographic mobility, age, training, and experience are the authentic barriers to women's pursuit of leadership careers in vocational education. It has been documented that these barriers are arbitrarily imposed.

Research has prepared the groundwork for the erasing of old myths which have restricted the opportunities for women. It is time--

--for old traditions, prejudices, and shibboleths of the male establishment to give way

--vocational education looked more critically at its performance in relation to appointing the most qualified person to an administrative position in terms of the competencies needed

--that the career pathways be as open for women to travel as the paths have been open for the men

--both women and men take the responsibility to be equal partners in the leadership of this nation's vocational education institutions

Factors Impacting Upon Women as Members of Organizations

Introduction

In addition to personal barriers which may inhibit persons from pursuing administrative careers, institutional and organizational barriers reinforce and promote traditional stereotypic roles for women. Weber,[1] who suggested in the 1930's that many organizations were becoming bureaucracies, has been assailed by modern organizational theorists. The basic concept underlying this theory, however, provides an explanation of how barriers develop and how they are perpetuated.

Weber suggested that organizations strive to attain their goals and to accomplish these goals in the most efficient manner possible. To ensure these ends, organizations developed divisions of labor with a hierarchical structure and distinct responsibilities at each level. To assure that the most technically competent persons are hired to fulfill specific responsibilities, the organization develops rules, regulations, and standards which insulate it from individual employee idiosyncracies. Often the rules and regulations of the organizations are impersonal and designed to sustain the organization rather than the individual.

The following two paragraphs are a synthesis of the findings of Meyer and Rowen.[2] Meyer and Rowen categorized organizations as tight and loose couplings. They suggested that education is a tight coupling, guided by strict rules and regulations from which confidence in the educational system emanates. Accordingly, tight couplings include certification requirements for hiring; accrediting mechanisms for evaluation of school districts or universities; and requirements for educational advancement including grade point averages as well as curriculum requirements.

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[1]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York: Free Press, 1949) cited in Barry M. Richman and Richard N. Farmer, Leadership, Goals, and Power in Higher Education, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher, 1974), p. 28.

[2]John W. Meyer and Brian Rowen, "Notes on the Structure of Educational Organizations," (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August, 1975), pp. 1-39.

That authors maintain such requirements is the basis for the faith placed in educational organizations. Since little formal evaluation, according to these authors, occurs at the instructional or individual school level, there may be substantial diversity from one class or school to another. Requirements are so well engrained as the basis for confidence in the educational organizations and their subunits that communities rarely mandate formal local evaluation.

Meyer and Rowen's analysis illustrates how rules and regulations perpetuate organizations. If the community supports the educational organization and the standards imposed by it, the educational organization is not likely to readily adapt or replace those rules which have been used successfully to establish trust between the community and itself. Therefore, rules or standards, once established and supported by the populace, are likely to remain in effect until the community becomes dissatisfied and pushes for change.

"...A woman's career development is limited by structural or developmental barriers," defined by Pamela Roby as those "organizational patterns and practices...which hinder or halt"[3] a woman's entry into and progress in higher education, and then by internalized social attitudes and norms.[4] [Emphasis is the author's.]

Not all rules and regulations are formalized. In fact, policies and procedures may readily follow from traditional norms and expectations into stated policies and procedures. Once formalized they become ingrained within the organization; change may be unattainable. Research suggests the existence of policies and practices that tend to mitigate against women obtaining administrative positions in education and specifically in vocational education.

Are there organizational structures which help to eliminate or prevent sex discrimination, bias, and stereotyping? Because the organizational structures have been designed by males for males, are there different configurations or organizational structures which will better meet society's current and future needs?

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[3]Pamela Roby, "Structural and Internalized Barriers to Women in Higher Education," in Toward a Sociology of Women, ed. C. Safilios-Rothschild (Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1972), p. 122.

[4]Nancy Schlossberg, "The Right to be Wrong is Gone: Women in Academe," Educational Record 55 (February 1974): 259.

General Factors

Organizational factors may, either singly or in combination, affect the utilization of women in the work force particularly in regard to education administration. Blanchard[5] found that out of a total of 16,000 public school superintendents only about ninety were women superintendents in 1976; they were, however, located in only twenty-five states, with the fewest in the Northeast and the most in the South.

Major differences between women and men administrators have been reported. According to Gross and Trask[6] men tend to be younger than women when first appointed to a principalship, with sixty-seven of every one hundred men appointed before the age of thirty-five and sixty-one of every one hundred women in the age range of thirty-five to forty-nine before their first appointment. The Gross and Trask study also pointed out that there are few racial minority women or men elementary principals. Of the 189 principals in the study group, 96 percent of the women were non-minority; and similarly, 92 percent of the men principals were married as compared to 33.3 percent of the women principals.

Kievit[7] points out that women in vocational education colleges and universities closely approximate the position of women generally employed in institutions of higher education. Kievit also reports that the sex of the teacher in vocational education tends to reflect traditional occupational areas. Men tend to predominate in teaching subjects such as agriculture, technical and industrial education, and distributive education. Women who teach in vocational areas tend to predominate in the subjects such as health education, home economics, and office occupations.

The executive image and the added efforts to attract men to the profession may also be related to the wide differential found between women and men administrators. Salary may be another factor mitigating against women seeking administrative positions. Several studies report a significant difference between the mean salary for women and men administrators.

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[5]Paul D. Blanchard, "The Impact of Sex Discrimination in the Recruitment of Educational Policy Makers," (Paper read at the Southeastern Conference of the Society for Public Administration, Miami Beach, Florida, October 19-21, 1976), p. 47.

[6]Neal Gross and Anne Trask, The Sex Factor and the Management of Schools (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1976), pp. 50-51.

[7]Mary Bach Kievit, "Women's Expanding Roles: Implications for Vocational Education," Vocational Education for Special Groups, Sixth Yearbook, ed. James E. Wall (Washington, D.C.: American Vocational Association, 1976), p. 5.

Pallante and Hilton[8] reported that in 1970 the median salary for men in administration was $13,256; while the median salary for women administrators was $7,600. Gross and Trask[9] reported that

> ...the difference in the kind of occupations that men and women tend to specialize in partly explains why the earnings of all women working full time in 1970 averaged only about 55% of those of all men working full time.

Gross and Trask further reported findings from the 1970 census which suggest the number of women who earn in excess of $10,000 has increased 400 percent from 1960 to 1970. In this same time period, the number of men who earned over $10,000 had increased by 250 percent. Although the percentage of increase for women is greater than it is for men, the disparity in numbers between men and women in this category demonstrates not only a continuation of a salary differential but also a widening of the gap. In 1960, about 25,400 women earned $10,000 or more and by 1970 the number had increased to about 109,500. In the same decade men who earned $10,000 or more increased from approximately 1,100,000 in 1960 to slightly over 2,900,000 in 1970. The percentage increase in women's earnings although greater than men's, is misleading when one also is aware that only 1 percent of all women in 1960 earned $10,000 or more and in 1970 only 3 percent of all women earned $10,000 or more.

A number of sources including Clement et al.[10] and Gross and Trask[11] suggest that sex is a better predictor of salary than years of experience, professional experience, or types of advanced degrees. Educational institutions often utilize a salary schedule as a means for determining an individual's salary; however, this scale may be influenced by such differentials as military experience. Such salary schedules, often deemed fair, can be used to discriminate within authorized bounds.

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[8]James J. Pallante and Cheryl L. Hilton, "Authority Positions for Women in Public Education," Contemporary Education 48 (Summer 1977): 41.

[9]Gross and Trask, Sex Factor and Management of Schools, p. 8.

[10]Jacqueline Clement et al., "No Room at the Top," American Education 13 (June 1977): 21.

[11]Gross and Trask, Sex Factor and Management of Schools, p. 8.

The National Education Association's 1972 study found a $1,762 difference between men and women who were employed as full-time professors. Additionally, the 1970 Kay[12] study found the 1969 median salary for women teachers in vocational education at every level to be $1,158 less than men teachers in the same or similar fields.

Taylor[13] reported that even though certification was the same for men and women and salaries were based on experience and training, men were making an average of $2,000 a year more than the women.

Zellman remarked that in the past when women wanted to compete in male-dominated institutions they had to deal with barriers on an individual basis. Flexi-time and child-care provisions are indications that society is beginning to accept some responsibility for dealing with these barriers.

> Because of the power structure our society is almost entirely male dominated and male run, most institutions are designed to reflect male values and accommodate men.[14]

As more qualified and aware women advance into decision-making positions, they will be on the cutting edge to challenge artificial barriers as well as to influence and accept responsibility for removing them for other women who will follow. Neidig[15] found that superintendents believed more men should be appointed to administrative positions because women predominated in the teaching areas and they believed students needed contact with both women and men. Neidig also found that both superintendents and male board members believed that only women who were heads of households should be considered for administrative positions and that 76.2 percent of the superintendents believed that male

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[12]Evelyn R. Kay, Vocational Education: Characteristics of Teachers and Students, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970) cited in Patricia Sites, "The Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools," pp. 22-23.

[13]Suzanne S. Taylor, "Educational Leadership: A Male Domain?" Phi Delta Kappan 15 (October 1973): 125.

[14]Gail L. Zellman, "The Role of Structural Factors in Limiting Women's Institutional Participation," Journal of Social Issues 32 (Summer 1976): 34.

[15]Marilyn B. Neidig, "Women Applicants for Administrative Positions: Attitudes Held by Administrators and School Boards" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1973), p. 12.

classroom teachers prefer to work with male principals. Sites[16] also noted the concentrated efforts to increase the number of men in the field of education.

In view of the disproportionate representation of men and women in these positions, what rules and regulations or policies and procedures exist which act to impede the participation of women? What causes one geographic region to promote and/or employ women for superintendent positions more frequently than others? What organizational barriers also mitigate against these women pursuing and obtaining positions in other school districts?

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[16]Patricia T. Sites, "The Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1975), p. 9.

Admission Requirements

Graduate schools may impose barriers that work against women as they pursue their academic programs. This is especially true of women with family responsibilities. Solmon[17] found that most women who interrupt their graduate programs do so because of the home and family responsibilities. If too much intervening time passes, it is often necessary for the women to start over. Many women are unwilling to repeat a program, due to lack of time coupled with limited financial resources.

Addis[18] found an unwillingness on the part of administrators to abandon college board scores for women who were reentering the university through special programs designed to meet their needs. Many of these women had taken college work but were concerned about the perceived obsolescence of earlier work; some were interested in training for an entirely different field. The faculty worried about the legitimacy of a program designed only for women and the waste of investing in these older women who would not have as long a time to use newly acquired skills.

Addis described a program which she labeled "Research College." The participants were all post-doctoral students and the expectation levels for these students were high. The college encouraged the women to mix with the undergraduates and to serve as role models. The undergraduate students reported that they were inspired with the way these women managed two roles. The college recognized that these students would have different learning and study habits, therefore, admission rules were relaxed to accommodate the differences.

The disproportionate percentage of women obtaining bachelor degrees compared to the percentage receiving advanced education degrees may be related to graduate school admission practices and policies. According to Solmon[19], of eighty-four graduate schools granting Ph.D.s in 1972, men candidates were admitted in the top-ranked schools, while women were more likely to be admitted to graduate schools ranking middle to poorest.

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[17]Lewis C. Solmon, Male and Female Graduate Students: The Question of Equal Opportunity (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), p. 15.

[18]Margaret Emily Addis, "Problems of Administrative Change in Selected Programs for the Re-education of Women" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1967), p. 145.

[19]Solmon, Male and Female Graduate Students, p. 46.

Furthermore, Solmon indicated that twenty-five of the eighty-four schools admitted a higher proportion of men than women. When seeking admittance to graduate programs, women are more likely to attend institutions which are ranked lower and perceived to have less status. The effects of such policies and practices are difficult to calculate; however, differential schooling could lead to differential hiring. Universities hiring professors and administrators may utilize an applicant's academic preparatory institution as a criterion in projecting the future success of an applicant.

One other factor must be mentioned in regard to education attainment. Solmon cites a 1974 study by Centra which indicated that more years elapse between beginning a bachelor's program and obtaining a doctorate in education for women than men. The mean number of years for women from starting the bachelor's program to the completion of a doctorate is 16.6 years as compared to 13.8 for men.[20]

In recent years a number of institutions of higher education have received federal, state, or private funds to provide in-service programs for educators. These programs lead toward the completion of a master's degree. Pallante and Hilton[21] report that women comprised only 2 percent of trainees for one such program and 12 percent of the trainees for another.

The emphasis thus far has been with regard to women who are entering graduate school for the first time or who are pursuing professional growth opportunities through in-service programs. Addis,[22] however, focused on women who are re-entering educational institutions to pursue degree programs. She found that the returning women students had needs that were not being met by the educational institutions. She further found institutions were adjusting with more or less difficulty. These re-entering women were not always able to attend classes as frequently as full-time students who had no other responsibilities. It was difficult to receive transcripts from colleges where earlier work had been taken; often credits did not transfer because course work had been completed too long before. The faculty had conflicting expectations of these nontraditional

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[20] Ibid., p. 67.

[21] Pallante and Hilton, "Authority Positions for Women Principalships," p. 208.

[22] Addis, "Problems of Administrative Change in Selected Programs," p. 58.

students. It was not uncommon to hear concerns expressed about lowering the university standards by accepting "these students." Some faculty were requested to take on extra teaching loads in order to accommodate the women's program with very little, if any, salary adjustment. Added teaching loads were received with less than enthusiastic support; in addition, it caused some faculty to question the real commitment of the university or college to the new programs. All nine institutions in the study identified the need for special counselors for the returning women. Some institutions were willing to let the women do more of their work at home which made the dual-role conflict easier to manage. Addis believed that financial assistance provided to the women made it possible for them to attend. Without the financial assistance, participation might not have been possible. Women were told that it would simply be too difficult to manage all the academic work without emotional and financial support. Many of the programs required the full support of the husbands. Many re-entry women brought a rich variety of experiences to the program. Some colleges were able to award credit for the experiences while others were willing to waive the full-time student requirement as a requisite for financial assistance opportunities.

The questions need to be examined. Who do so few women participate in federally funded programs? Why do so few women receive financial assistance? Why are the financial sources less for women than for men? Are institutional requirements in regard to course limitations, e.g., geographic location, time-frame, a singular delivery strategy, prerequisites, meeting today's needs? Are there emerging needs which are being overlooked by educational institutions.

Recruitment Practices

Dias,[23] Ellis,[24] Muhich,[25] and Niedermeyer and Kramer[26] found that too often women are not recruited because it is assumed they are not interested or are not capable of becoming good administrators. Limited publicizing of positions was identified to be part of the recruiting problem by many.

Although Title IX specifically addresses employment practices in educational organizations, a number of informal practices and policies flourish which undermine the effectiveness of the law. Timpano[27] discusses the recruitment filtering practices which are used by some school districts to circumvent the intent of the law. The following are the recruiting filters identified by Timpano which continue to perpetuate traditional employment in educational organizations.

- Passing the word along through the informal buddy system, the "boys," or other fraternal or male-dominated professional associations
- Contacting university placement services known to recommend men even with qualified women registered
- Employing search groups who have a track record for selecting men, only, as finalists
- Looking to women's organizations only as openings in a female-intensive field

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[23]Sally L. Dias, "The Aspiration Levels of Women for Administrative Careers in Education: Predictive Factors and Implications for Effecting Change" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Research Association, San Francisco, April 19-23, 1976), p. 46.

[24]Mary Ellis, Women and Work Career and Vocational Education Professional Development. Report 16 (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, Center for Occupational Education, 1974), p. 19.

[25]Delores Muhich, "Discrimination against Women in Educational Administration" (Paper read before the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors at Chicago, December 1973), p. 12.

[26]Gretchen Niedermeyer and Vickie W. Kramer, Women in Administrative Positions in Public Education: A Position Paper (Recruitment, Leadership and Training Institute, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1974), p. 37.

[27]Doris Timpano, "How to Tell If You Are Discriminating against Would-be Women Administrators and What To Do about It If You Are," American School Board Journal 163 (June, 1976): 20.

- Announcing "possible positions;" if women apply, withdrawing the positions

- Limiting the announcement circulation to within the district, "knowing that, few, if any, women were certified"

- Using sexist language to convey subtly the image of a male candidate and the not-so-subtle messages: "We are seeking to replace a man who left a high school principalship"

- Selective advertising

  - Placing an ad in papers a week before deadline

  - Selecting journals known to be circulated among men

  - Using blind box numbers, thus avoiding identification making it possible to reject qualified individuals and leaving them helpless to verify

  - Advertising only after the selected candidate is already on the new job

In addition, few women, if any, are encouraged to consider administration as a viable option. This attitude overflows into the job requirements; and whether it is an established, institutional practice or not, it operates as such. The fact remains that discriminatory practices continue. What efforts are necessary to expose the discrimination practices? What efforts are necessary to supplant these practices with an active commitment to bring women into all levels of decision-making and specifically into top administrative positions?

Job Requirements

It is seldom written as part of the job qualification that one needs to be male, but studies often found sex to be the most important indicator for advancement. According to Barlow,[28] maleness was identified as a preferred characteristic for vocational education administrators. McIntyre[29] suggested that position descriptions be specific, include expectations, and be weighted to reflect more objectively the real requirements of the position.

The lack of advanced education and degrees has often been cited as a major reason why women are not found in educational administrative positions. The supposition is: Women do not hold master's degrees or the education equivalents needed to apply for administrative credentials; and, therefore, are not qualified to be employed as administrators. Niedermeyer and Kramer[30] report that in 1970 women who received master's degrees and doctorates in education administration represented 21.7 percent of the former and 8.6 percent of the doctorates conferred. Fishel and Pottker[31] indicate the number and percent of those obtaining master's degrees and doctorates in education administration suggests women are prepared for administrative positions.

The number and percent of women receiving degrees in education administration is not proportionate to the number and percent of women receiving bachelor's degrees in education. Pallante and Hilton[32] report findings from the statistical abstracts which indicate that women receive 74 percent of all bachelor's degrees awarded in education. With regard to the

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[28]Melvin L. Barlow, "Opinions of Community College Presidents and Deans of Occupational Education Concerning a Doctoral Program to Prepare Occupational Education Administrators: A Pilot Study" (Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Graduate School of Education, 1974), p. 47.

[29]Kenneth E. McIntyre, "The Selection of Elementary School Principals," The National Elementary Principal 44 (April 1965): 46.

[30]Niedermeyer and Kramer, "Women in Administrative Positions in Public Education," p. 37.

[31]Andrew Fishel and Janice Pottker, "Women Lose Out: Is There Sex Discrimination in School Administration?" The Clearing House 47 (March 1973): 34.

[32]Pallante and Hilton, "Authority Positions for Women," p. 41.

specific teaching area disciplines in vocational education, selected statistics from Baker and Wills Summary[33] provide the following degree data:

Table 2

Vocational Education 1974-75

Teaching Speciality	DEGREES AWARDED					
	Bachelors		Masters		Doctorate	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Agriculture Education	65	1,023	10	375	1	25
Business, Commerce, and Distributive Education	4,880	1,397	1,322	636	23	63
Engineering Technology (Include Trade and Industrial Training)	192	7,305	4	217	-	2
Health Education (including Family Life Education)	1,123	745	531	493	18	28
Home Economics Education	5,065	10	748	12	19	-
Industrial Arts Education	412	7,094	430	2,199	40	171
Law Enforcement Education	1,672	8,284	139	854	-	11
Totals	13,409	25,858	3,184	4,786	101	300

From this data, it seems apparent that women in vocational education are earning advanced degrees which would enhance their qualifications to be considered for upward mobility in their career development. Additionally, as examination is made of the graduates in educational administration almost no bachelor's degrees were reported; at the master's level 2,731 women and 7,873 men completed the degree. At the doctoral level, 221 women and 1,094 men had the degree conferred.[34] It is interesting that approximately one out of every ten women who earned a master's degree completed the terminal degree compared to approximately one to every eight men. Regardless of the educational level, the data indicates that indeed women are preparing themselves for career advancement.

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[33]Curtis O. Baker and Agnes Q. Wills. Earned Degrees Conferred 1974-75. Summary Data, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1976), pp. 33-35.

[34]Ibid, p. 33.

Additional data relative to degrees awarded to women were prepared for the years of 1970-77 to 1975-76 for the bachelor's, master's level and first-professional degree.[35] For the latter veterinary medicine, law, and pharmacy represented the largest portion of women receiving degrees for the first professional in all fields 6.5 percent of degrees awarded were to women in 1970-71, that percentage increased to 15.6 percent in 1975-76. For the bachelor's and master's degrees, broad disciplines which tend to reflect impact for vocational education are agriculture and natural resources, education, health professions and home economics. The proportion of degrees awarded to women in each discipline for 1970-71 and 1975-76 at the bachelor's and master's levels are as follows: Bachelor's, agriculture ...4.2 percent to 18.3 percent, master's 5.9 to 14.3 percent; education, bachelor's 74.4 to 72,8 percent; master's 56.2 to 64.3 percent; and home economics bachelor's 97.3 to 95.9 percent, master's 93.9 to 91.5 percent. For all disciplines at the bachelor's level 43.5 percent to 45.6 percent, master's level 40.1 to 46.4 percent. For all degrees earned, the proportion of women earning those degrees is nearing the 50 percent mark. It appears that a shifting from the traditional vocational disciplines can be noted.

As the advanced degrees are frequently stated requirements for the administrative positions in vocational education administration, the statistics indicate that qualified women do exist to assume leadership positions. There are caveats which need to be examined. It seems inconsistent that women would receive 74 percent of all bachelor's degrees in education yet not be represented beyond 20 percent of the doctoral degrees conferred. Is it reasonable to assume that women are achieving their career goals with attainment of the bachelor's degree, or do other factors within the university system exist to discourage women from pursuing advanced degree work? What are the dynamics behind the statistics which show more women are entering into the agriculture specialty area than men entering into the home economics area? How much do the financial disparities recorded between the traditional women's and men's fields enter into the picture?

35"Proportion of Degrees Awarded to Women," The Chronicle of Higher Education, 23 October 1978, p. 11.

Hiring Practices

One hiring practice designed to meet affirmative action goals is to create new positions for women with little or no opportunity for advancement. These women and the positions are often phased out within a year or two. Another practice is to hire women and not give them access to information which has been channeled through the "old boy network." Women have also been hired into positions devoid of authority to make decisions and yet given responsibility for the decisions they were not responsible for making. Hiring women into a position previously held by a man under a different title, with the pay scale adjusted downward is still another practice evidencing the continued discrimination practices popular among the school systems (McIntyre,[36] Mattes and Watkins,[37] Timpano,[38] Muhich,[39] and Niedermeyer and Kramer[40]).

Increasing the number of women on school boards has been suggested as a possible remedy to the problem of underrepresentation of women in school administration. School boards for K-12 educational agencies and boards of trustees for institutions of higher education are empowered by state law or charter to formulate policy for their respective institutions. These boards possess legal authority with regard to the hiring and firing of key administrators as well as policy formulation. The persons who are members of such boards may indeed, whether elected or appointed, seek to influence, overtly or covertly, decisions which promote their personal value systems perpetuating prejudicial attitudes acquired from the socialization process. Board members can also be influenced by community norms and expectations with regard to their organizations. The import of the

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[36]Kenneth E. McIntyre, "The Selection of Elementary School Principals," The National Elementary Principal 44 (April 1965): 42-47.

[37]Linda Mattes and Foster J. Watkins, "Women in Administration in Schools of Education," Intellect 100 (November 1973): 132-133.

[38]Doris Timpano, "How to Tell if You Are Discriminating against Would-be Administrators and What To Do about It If You Are," American School Board Journal (June 1976): 19-23.

[39]Muhich, "Discrimination against Women in Educational Administration," p. 12.

[40]Niedermeyer and Kramer, "Women in Administrative Positions in Education," p. 37.

board members and their attitudes may lead to the continuation of entrenched organizational barriers which become apparent in policy decisions.

The National School Board Association reported an increase in the number of women serving as school board members from 1970 to 1975. In 1970 women comprised 10 percent of all board members; in 1972, 12 percent of all board members were women, and in 1975 women represented 20 percent of all board members. Blanchard[41] also reports that women are found in greater numbers on boards in the North and Northeast as compared to the South and Southeast. Furthermore, Blanchard indicates that one-third of all boards do not have women members; one-third of all school boards have one woman serving in that capacity; while another third have two or more school board composition of a school district with women in higher level administrative positions, were not found in the literature.

Higher education, according to the 1977 follow-up study conducted by the American Association of University Women,[42] demonstrated a reversal of the trend for increased representation of women on boards of trustees. The findings show that during the 1970-1977 period the percentage of women who served as trustees in 600 institutions decreased from 21 percent in 1970 to 12 percent in 1977. Of all college trustee positions, men hold 79 percent of the appointments. Although the study indicated that small, private women's colleges often have more women represented on their boards, the data suggested that women comprise only 50 percent of the trustees at 38 percent of the women's colleges included in this study.

The findings of a recent Ohio School Board Journal survey[43] suggested that a majority of board members perceived differences between boys and girls - differences attributable to the socialization processes within the family and social institutions. With regard to educational differences, 70 percent of

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[41]Blanchard, "The Impact of Sex Discrimination in Recruitment of Educational Policy Makers," p. 47.

[42]Anita Miller, "Women, Education and the Future," (Speech presented before the Futurist Society, Houston, Texas, October 19-21, 1978).

[43]Susan Saiter, "Women's Lib among Women School Board Members: Not Very Militant," Phi Delta Kappan 60 (November 1978): 251.

the respondents indicated that boys and girls receive differential treatment in schools. Approximately one-third of the respondents perceived women board members as less well thought of because of their sex. To a lesser degree, the female respondents perceived prejudicial attitudes and behaviors from male community members, superintendents, and female community persons.

From perceptions of the respondents focusing on the perceived differences between female and male board members, the data suggested that female board members had a greater knowledge of children's needs, whereas the male board members were more knowledgeable in regard to financial matters. Forty-three percent of the respondents indicated that an all-female board could be as effective as an all-male board. And an all-male school board does little to affirm a positive image or commitment to the issue of increasing sex equity in education.

Another hiring practice which has operated to exclude women from educational administration is the anti-nepotism posture adopted by many institutions. Traditionally anti-nepotism has worked to the advantage of men while ignoring women. Robinson[44] found that some women would not apply for administrative positions simply because of anti-nepotism practices. Miller reported that, in the American Association of University Women's (AAUW) Study comparing the progress made in 600 colleges and universities from 1970 to 1977, the data showed an increase from 65 to 74 percent of the institutions abandoning anti-nepotism rules. Miller further pointed out that, even with the reduction of the restrictive employment policies, there was still a 20 percent drop of the institutions employing wife and husband teams.[45]

Vocational education has the unique situation of being an integral part of the total education program. At times the delivery structure for vocational education establishes separate school boards. There are no known studies of the perceptions of the board members and how their value sets may influence the appointment of women into administrative positions in vocational education.

The relationship of women board members, their perceptions of the role of women in administration, and the ultimate appointments for women to administrative posts also need examination.

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[44]L.H. Robinson, "The Status of Academic Women" ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, April 1971, cited in Muhich "Discrimination against Women in Educational Administration," p. 16.

[45]Anita Miller, "Women, Education, and the Future," Speech.

Communication

In the November 1978 issue of NOW Times, a study conducted by researchers, Candace West of Florida State and Don Zimmerman of the University of California at Santa Barbara, was reported. They found that, when either men talk together or when women talk together, interruptions in the communication sequences were about equal. It is when a man and a woman talk that a difference occurs. The man makes 96 percent of the interruptions. The woman compensates by making "retrievals" (picking up where she left off) about one-third of the time.[46]

At seven university faculty meetings, Eakins and Eakins carefully timed the length of turns and number of turns taken by each faculty member. The meetings were taped and transcribed.

> With one exception, the males surpassed the females in number of verbal turns taken. The woman with the fewest turns averaged 5.5 a meeting; the man with the fewest turns not only had over twice as many as she, but he exceeded all the other women except one in number of turns.[47]

The average shortest time period for males was 10.66 seconds, for the females, three seconds. The authors also cited research conducted by Wood[48] about spontaneous speech in which eighteen males and eighteen females were given twelve photographs of a man's face, the expression changing from picture to picture. The speakers were to describe the pictures to an unseen listener so that the listener would be able to pick out the correct picture from among twenty-five pictures given to the listener. The speakers were informed when the listeners chose the correct pictures. To test the response of the speaker to success or failure in communicating, prearranged false feedbacks were given so that the speaker would succeed and fail in a predetermined order. It was found that the male speakers used significantly more words per speaking time than the females used. Responding to feedback of failure, the females did not noticeably change the length of their talk. The male speakers used more words as they went through the series of failure and success experiences. The males seemed to demonstrate more sensitivity, in

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[46] "In Brief," National NOW Times, November 1978, p. 2.

[47] Barbara Westbrook Eakins and R. Gene Eakins, Sex Differences in Human Communication (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978), p. 26.

[48] Ibid.

terms of number of words used, to success or failure in communication than the females demonstrated. It may be that females accept the folk view that women's speech is unorganized or illogical and confused, thus viewing communication failure casually with a "so what-else-is-new" attitude of resignation.[49]

In another investigation conducted by Swacker,[50] the findings also demonstrated that, as the participants were describing paintings and engravings, the females took considerably less time in their descriptions than the males. The average time for females was 3.17 minutes contrasted with 13 minutes for males. No significant differences were noted in the speed of speech between the women, 113 words a minute, and the men, 107.9 words a minute. In an exercise conducted by Eakins and Eakins in which members of a group described an arrangement of squares to another member--with the listener to draw the arrangement in a timed, no-questions-asked setting, the males in the majority of cases spoke longer than females. Little difference was recorded between the sexes and the number of persons correctly drawing the arrangement of squares from the oral directions. The females did not seem to repeat their instructions as often as males.[51]

According to Eakins and Eakins, "...communication has been studied in connection with such categories as race, class, religion, political setting, and economic background, but little attention has been given to sex as a variable.[52] Communication, as with most management studies, has been approached and normed by researchers using only male subjects. Tobias reported, with mixed amusement and irritation, about one researcher who was having some difficulty with a study and finally threw out the material gathered from female subjects because it "skewed his data."[53]

In our personal and professional lives great importance is attached to knowing the sex of another person as it tells us

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[49]Ibid., p. 27.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., p. 29.

[52]Eakins and Eakins, Sex Differences in Human Communications, p. 14.

[53]Ibid.

how to respond to that person. To illustrate how, in our endeavors to respond to the gender of the person, we attribute more to the sex than is necessarily warranted, the story of the short- and long-whiskered rats is presented.

> Short-whiskered rats were put in a conditioning box where they learned to respond only to red lights. Long-whiskered rats were put in a box and taught to respond to blue lights. After the rats were conditioned, the researcher wrote up the experiment as if the rats' responses resulted from a difference in whisker length. It is possible that just like the different conditioning boxes, the varied social environments for the sexes are creating the differences.[54]

Kanter,[55] in describing communication within groups, suggested that, as a token woman enters a male group, an imposed stereotypic casting of one of four stereotypical roles is attributed to her. These roles are: the mother, the sex object, the pet, and the iron maiden. According to Kanter, the mother role is comparatively safe but the nurturing role produces three consequences: 1) the mother received rewards for service to the males but not for independent action; 2) the mother is expected to be non-critical, and since the ability to differentiate and be critical is often an indicator of competence in work groups, the mother is excluded; 3) the mother becomes the emotional specialist, retaining the traditional feminine characteristics.

The "sex-object"--the role of the seductress (this is a perception, the woman may not be consciously behaving seductively) is seen as sexually desirable and potentially available. If she shares her attention widely, she risks the humiliation of the whore; should she form an alliance, resentment is aroused; the perceived sexuality blots out all other characteristics. The introduction of sexual competition and jealousy creates tensions.

The "pet," adopted by the male group, is amusing, serves as a mascot, and a cheerleader, provoking humor. A display of competence is complimented and treated as special as if it is so unexpected.

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[54]Ibid., p. 15.

[55]Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Sex Roles and Group Interaction," Excerpt from "Women in Organizations: Change Agent Skills," mimeographed (Waltham, Massachusetts: Department of Sociology, Brandeis University, 1974).

The "iron maiden" role portrays the typical strong woman. Women who become trapped in this role are often behaving in healthy, self-actualizing ways. The male response may stereotype them tougher than they are.

Confinement to a stereotyped role inhibits, if not prevents, an effective communication process between female and male administrators. As more studies are conducted in the broad spectrum of communications using sex as one of the variables, it is likely that a new basis will emerge to reduce the incongruency, the dissonance, the unresolved conflicts which constrain communications to a narrow avenue of stereotypic behavior patterns.

To facilitate the communications so vital within an organization, being able to select a co-worker who makes one feel comfortable, elicits trust, supports you when the going gets rough, and understands without translation, is critical.[56] Members of our own social group seem to meet this requirement best. Kanter[57] addresses this issue by saying,

> One way to ensure acceptance and ease of communication was to limit managerial jobs to those who were socially homogenous. Social certainty, at least, could compensate for some of the other sources of uncertainty in the tasks of management. It was easier to talk to those of one's kind who had shared experiences--more certain, or accurate, or predictable. Thus, less time could be spent concentrating on subtle meanings, and more time (such an overload resource for managers) on the task... Hence, another source pushed for the confinement of managerial work to a closed circle of homogeneous peers, people who had been through the same things together and could readily understand each other.

Because vocational education has been divided along the traditional male/female-intensive occupations, it would seem to be of prime importance that insight into our patterns of communication and their relationships to sex differences be considered. There is a need to explore the relationship of the

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[56]Judith Touchton and Donna Shavlik, "Challenging the Assumptions of Leadership: Women and Men of the Academy," New Directions for Higher Education 22 (1978): 99.

[57]Rosabeth Moss Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), p. 58.

so-called "articulate" person to identifiable outcomes which benefit vocational education. Categories which may provide a basis of consideration were suggested: 1) innate differences, 2) personality, 3) division of labor by sex, 4) male dominance, 5) differing value systems, and 6) cultural elaboration.[58]

Conclusion

In summary, although not a formally stated organizational policy, the adopted organizational practices seemingly perpetuate the underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration. One of the most revealing studies which demonstrates the stereotyped attitudes contributing to the underrepresentation of women in vocational education was reported in 1974 by a leader in vocational education. He identified the preferred characteristics for a vocational education administrator in community colleges--being male was so identified. In general, the school boards across the nation have recorded some increases in the number of female board members; however, this trend seems to be reversed for institutions of higher education where there has been a significant decrease in the percentage of women serving as trustees. A study of school board members in Ohio reported that forty-three percent of the respondents indicated an all-female board could perform as effectively. Additionally, the study reported that an all-male board does little to affirm a positive commitment to the issue of increasing sex equity in education. An examination of the degrees earned in 1974-75 in broad service categories relating to vocational education, namely: Agriculture Education, Business Commerce and Distributive Education, Engineering Technology which includes trade and industry training education, Health Education, Home Economics Education, Industrial Arts Education, and Law Enforcement Education demonstrates that women are completing academic training mostly in the traditional female intensive occupational areas. It is worth noting that the percentage of women who complete the master's degree is greater than that of the men, 23.7 percent compared to 18.5 percent. The percentage of men completing the doctorate is somewhat greater, 6.3 to 3.2 percent. It appears that this data refute the notion that women are not educationally prepared for upward career mobility. This fact notwithstanding, many recruiting practices cited for seeking potential job candidates could better be described as filters clearly designed to circumvent the Title IX regulations.

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[58]Eakins and Eakins, Sex Differences in Human Communications, pp. 16-19.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM
EDUCATION PROFESSIONS DEVELOPMENT ACT
(EPDA LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM)

Focus on Women

Vocational education has recognized the need to prepare its leaders to meet the challenges ahead. In 1963, the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education, in their report, Education For A Changing World of Work,[1] stated:

> The leadership of vocational education will determine both its quality and effectiveness. In a rapidly changing world, this leadership must be dynamic and forward-looking, and able to adapt its thinking to a constantly changing situation which it faces.

Five years later the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education commented in its report,[2] Vocational Education--The Bridge Between Man and His Work:

> Prior to the Vocational Education Act of 1963, leadership activities had received only token attention nationwide. It was left to the old theory that "the cream would rise to the top" to supply part of the need for leadership, but suddenly the demand for sophisticated personnel in leadership positions made the old practice unsatisfactory and new catalysts were needed.

To the end of developing a new breed of leadership in vocational education to enhance growth and development, the special leadership program was first recognized by Congress in Title II of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968. Funds were appropriated for the Vocational Education Leadership Development Programs in 1970 and Leadership Development fellowships for full-time graduate study were made available to meet the need for qualified administrators, supervisors, teacher educators, researchers, curriculum developers, and

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[1]Education For A Changing World of Work, (n.p., 1963) as quoted by Ellen Bowers in The Oklahoma Extern Program (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State Department of Vocational and Technical Education, 1976), p. 3.

[2]Vocational Education--The Bridge between Man and His Work as quoted by Ralph C. Wenrich, "Leadership Development Ten Years Later," American Vocational Journal 51 (September 1976): 42.

instructors in vocational education under Part F, Section 552. Hamilton[3] elaborates on the intent of the legislation:

> The Congressional intent to make the development of vocational education personnel a high priority was reflected in the addition of Part F to the 1967 EPDA by means of Title II of the 1968 VEA. Congress could have diffused personnel development through Title I of VEA, as it had been in the past. But it was sensitive to the advice of the Essex Panel that such diffusion would only perpetuate the historical lack of attention paid to this aspect of vocational education.
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> The addition of Part F to EPDA was caused by recognition of the need for development of the whole spectrum of vocational personnel, not merely teachers. The 90th Congress specifically included in Part F administrators, supervisors, teacher educators, researchers, and instructors.

Congress obviously intended to impact on the policies and practices of the traditional vocational program through implementation of the leadership development programs. Change in educational institutions is usually dependent on extra-organizational pressures largely beyond Federal control; but, in the absence of such pressure, concentrating efforts on personnel can be an important factor in effecting major change given some time. Concentration on potential leaders was the purpose of the EPDA program.

> Existing organizational orientations and routines are not impervious to directed change. Careful targeting of major factors that support routines--such as personnel, rewards, information, and budgets--can effect major change over time.[4]

The benefits of the added recognition and prestige that this program brought to vocational education in the beginning

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[3]Phyllis Hamilton et al., The Education Profession 1973-1974: Personnel Development in Vocational Education (Menlo Park: Stanford Research Institute, 1974), p. 8.

[4]J.T. Murphy, "Grease the Squeaky Wheel: A Report on the Implementation of Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965," Grants to Strengthen State Departments of Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Graduate School of Education, February, 1973), cited by Phyllis Hamilton in The Education Profession," p. 45.

were concentrated on potential leadership of the males in vocational education. The EPDA program demonstrated little change orientation for women, especially in the area of administration in vocational education. Roby[5] developed the following table which illustrates the efforts to bring women into leadership for vocational education.

Table 3

Participants in the Leadership Development Program Authorized by the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) Part F. Section 552*

Length of Funded Project	Number of Institutions	Fiscal Year(s)	Total No. of Participants	Number Female	Percent Female
3-year (doctoral)	11	FY 70-72	160	20	12.5
3-year (doctoral)	7	FY 71-73	56	16	28.6
1-year (graduate)	18	FY 73	287	73	25.4
1-year (graduate)	28	FY 74	347	147	42.4
		FY 70-74	850	256	30.1

*Source: Muriel Shay Tapman, Education Program Specialist, Vocational Education Personnel Development Staff Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, letter to Pamela Roby, March 13, 1975.

Note: Fiscal year 1974 funds utilized for programs which began in September, 1974 and terminated August, 1975.

Regarding the above table, it must be pointed out that 28.6 percent in FY 1971-1973 represents the percentage of new people in the program. Overall, in the 3-year doctoral

[5]Pamela Ann Roby, "Vocational Education and Women," mimeographed (May 1975), p. 20, also published in narrative form in "Toward Full Equality: More Job Education for Women," School Review 84 (February 1976): 194.

programs from 1970-1973, women were represented only at a 16.7 participatory rate. The greatest increase of women in the program occurred in FY 1974, the second year of the one-year graduate programs.

Funderburk recognized the benefits of fellowships, such as EPDA awards, and their career advancement:

> The EPDA Vocational Education Leadership Development awards can, therefore, play a significant role in helping women to achieve positions at the decisionmaking levels in vocational education by providing them with opportunities to obtain the credentials and experiences which help to ensure career advancement.[6]

Also, addressing the importance of fellowships beyond their economic impact, Neis stated the following:

> Fellowships provide recognition, give opportunities to gain specialized knowledge, develop confidence and leadership skills. They can also open up new channels for professional contacts, increase awareness of developments in one's own field, and generally help cultivate that illusive quality known as "being a winner."[7]

In the fall of 1976, Funderburk conducted a follow-up study of the career advancement of females and males who had participated in the EPDA program between September 1970 and the end of August, 1975. The population in the study consisted of all females who had participated in the program, a total of 255. From the male group, a sample of 255 was drawn using a table of random numbers. The questionnaire was developed and mailed. A total of 354 usable questionnaires were analyzed, 158 from women and 196 from men. For the female group, the vocational service areas of business and office and home economics were equally represented at 34.18 percent each.

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[6]Kermeta Funderburk, "A Comparative Study of Career Advancement of Female and Male Participants in the Vocational Education Leadership Development Program under the Education Professions Development Act" (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Woman's Universtiy, 1977), p. 5.

[7]Janet Neis, "Women and Fellowships," Women's Equity Action League, January 1976, p. 7.

The female group's responses to the question asking for the type of positions held prior to and after the EPDA program were examined separately. The greatest percentage change occurred in the area of administration, moving from 5.1 percent before entering the EPDA program to 19.6 percent upon termination of the program.[8] Comparative figures for the male group only were 18.9 percent upon entering the program and 44.4 percent leaving the program. The women from the EPDA program had made gains into the administrative arena; however, the number of females in administration provides a more realistic view of the increase. Of the 354 total participants in the study, only eight women (2.3 percent of the total persons in the study) had held what had been identified as an administrative position prior to the EPDA program. Following the EPDA program, 31 women--8.8 percent of the total participants--had checked administration as their area of job performance. The number of women entering administrative ranks is small in comparison to the number of men who had identified the administrative category. Thirty-seven males, 10.5 percent of the total participants, had checked administrative functions before the program; and 87 males, 24.6 percent of the total, following the program.

Summarizing these statistics, modest gains for the women who pursue administrative careers can be recorded. Yet, the number of male respondents in administration before entering the program was greater than the number of female respondents in administration following the program. For the administrative positions identified by both groups in the study, a clearer delineation between line and staff positions would have provided information to examine the career ladder positions compared to staff positions. By rationalization of the "service" aspect of the staff positions, it follows that women can appropriately fill these offices and are usually found filling the staff rather than line positions in an organization's hierarchical structure.

The responses to the question of salaries prior and subsequent to EPDA showed an average lower salary of $1,596 for the women before the program. This disparity increased to $2,312 following the program.[9] A possible explanation of this discrepancy could be that the women entered the leadership program with less academic preparation than men and thus exited with some disparity. Funderburk conducted a secondary analysis of only those female and male awardees with earned doctorates. It was found that in relation to salary the two groups were

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[8]Funderburk, "A Comparative Study," p. 61.

[9]Ibid., p. 94.

> ...closer in occupational status and professional achievement than were the female and male awardees in general. However, differences still existed before the program and were even greater afterward.[10]

An additional disparity is noted in the marital status of the participants. Of the male group 88 percent were married; while only slightly over half of the female group--52 percent were.

The most significant move for members within the total female group was into teacher education, from 15.2 percent prior to EPDA, to 30.4 percent following the program.

Graduate level leadership development programs for vocational education has been a relatively recent development. Only three of the original eleven institutions beginning EPDA leadership programs had departments of vocational education prior to 1962. The doctorate was offered at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and the University of Georgia. By the fall of 1970, eleven institutions had installed EPDA programs. Each State Department of Vocational Education has had the responsibility to nominate its candidates to EPDA programs. The percentage of women nominated to EPDA ranged from 12.5 to 42.4 percent, averaging 30.1 percent during the four-year time span. Women in vocational education have begun to record recognizable gains. Vocational educators and vocational leaders are cognizant of the continuing efforts needed to be devoted to this issue.

Statistics are lacking on the program from 1975 on. It would be recommended that another, more intensive follow-up of all EPDA participants be undertaken to examine in greater depth the disparities pointed out in Funderburk's study as well as other measures of outcomes for leadership. Are there special needs of EPDA women to which the programs have not responded? Have the faculty of EPDA sponsoring institutions been as supportive of the female as they have been of the male participants? Are the women students encouraged to pursue administrative positions? How much influence in the world of work will the EPDA sponsoring university have? How do the perceptions of women's role held by those administering EPDA programs influence the success of women participants?

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[10]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

RECOMMENDATIONS

What will be the future of women in administration in vocational education? On the one hand, one can feel optimistic about the overall participation of women in the work force. Women's participation in management level positions has increased dramatically. With this momentum set in motion, it is inevitable that women will ultimately be actively participating in vocational education decision-making positions as Directors of area schools, superintendents of vocational districts, and deans of occupational education in community-junior colleges. Just how smooth the transition will be remains to be seen.

Evidence for the expressed optimism emanates from the flow of women into the labor force and into the educational institutions over the last two decades. Not only has there been increased participation of women in the twenty-to-twenty four age group, but there has also been a dramatic increase in the entrance of married women into the labor force--a rate of 150 percent between 1950 and 1976.[1] According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1977, 49 percent of all women 16 years of age and over were at work.[2]

Rena Bartos[3] enumerated a series of outmoded assumptions which have prevailed about the women's consumer market. According to Bartos, "The flood of women entering the work force is not only a demographic trend--it would be a manifestation of a profound social change." Eli Ginzberg, Chairman of the National Commission for Manpower Policy, calls it the single most outstanding phenomenon of our century. A recent front page headline of The Chronicle of Higher Education boldly stated that 93 percent of the increase in enrollment in colleges and universities was attributed to women.

The enactment of federal and state legislation within the last decade has accelerated resolution of equity issues. Most recently, the passage of Title II Of the Educational Amendments

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[1]Eli Ginzberg, "The Job Problem," Scientific American 237 (1976): 45.

[2]Kristin Goff, "49% of Adult Women Now in Labor Force," The Columbus Dispatch, 4 June 1978, p. K-1.

[3]Rena Bartos, "What Every Marketer Should Know About Women," Harvard Business Review 56 (May/June 1978): 76.

[4]"Women Account for 93 Pct. of Enrollment Gain," The Chronicle of Higher Education, 9 January 1978, p. 1.

of 1976 has provided impetus for the overcoming of sex bias, sex stereotyping, and sex discrimination in vocational education.

Optimism fades, on the other hand, when confronted with the shroud of stereotyping which conceals and denies the human potential. Educational institutions have translated academic courses into behavioral objectives; studies have identified the competencies perceived as being needed for effective administration of vocational programs; vocational administration has been translated into competency-based, instructional delivery systems. The identified competencies are not gender bound; only the attitudes of the decision-makers remain constricted. There is a need for a strong monitoring force to ensure equal access to positions as well as programs. In setting goals, there is an equally strong need for vocational education leaders and administrators to actively commit themselves to increasing sex fairness in all of vocational education.

To work toward this goal, several new complexities must be overcome by education. These complexities are, according to Miller:[5]

- decline in the size of the traditional college-age group
- rising public concern for the effective performance of society's institutions
- more pressure to deal effectively with equity in education

Today's public wants to be an active participant in the management of the education process. Miller views this as an emergence of a new balance of power in education reform. The "in-power" constituency, e.g., boards, presidents, deans, local, state and federal agencies and administrators will fight hard to maintain the power edge they have accumulated over the years, but Miller maintains that those "out-of-power constituencies will be the determining factor.

> The change process is so incredible for educational institutions precisely because the social change is so phenomenal for the public it serves. In whose interests the new directions will emerge will depend totally on who recognizes the dynamics of the situation and decides to move with it.[6]

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[5]Anita Miller, "Women, Education and the Future," (Speech presented before the Futurist Society, Houston, Texas, October 21, 1978),

[6]Ibid.

Another example of external pressure being exerted can be seen as addressing the issue of the implications of the 1976 Education Amendments. Stevenson wrote,

> Obviously Congress is no longer satisfied with a vocational education program that accurately reflects the labor market with all its exclusions, restrictions, and traditions. This legislative act is demanding vocational education that can indirectly remold the work place into a more open, accepting responsive institution.[7]

Miller asks,

> Will it be the citizens organized for action whose anger and frustration will be directed as vigorously at the professional educator and the institutions they represent as toward the solution of the problem? Or will it be the professional educators who care about the quality of the educational system and seek to work toward a more responsive and effective system in a changing society? It is essential somehow that the two not work at cross purposes.[8]

Miller asserts, as did Stevenson, that it should be the educational system which first recognizes the realities of a change society, and this same educational system needs to also be the first to identify the areas of change and facilitate the public understanding of that change.

The implications of the statistics reported in the literature review and the legislative measures of equity demand attention. The quality of education should be evaluated on its linkage with freedom of choice of one's career pattern and equal access to the positions of choice and competency. Empty rhetoric carries little hope for women in vocational education who aspire to positions of leadership. Stevenson also wrote:

> The strong emphasis which the Congress placed on the elimination of sex bias and sex stereotyping puts vocational education in a position to again be the leader in an innovative movement or to fail dismally in meeting this challenge which has been given to us. In my

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[7]William W. Stevenson, The Educational Amendments of 1976 and Their Implications for Vocational Education: A Position Paper, Information Series 122 (Columbus, Ohio: The Center for Vocational Education, 1977), p. 14.

[8]Miller, "Women, Education and the Future."

> opinion, this will be the most difficult of the mandates to accomplish--the most difficult because it calls for a change in us and not simply in programs. It requires that each of us act and think differently. As women move more completely into the center of American work life, a readjustment in the attitude and actions of both men and women is required; the resultant benefits of a more equal concept of life roles can provide a more complete and satisfying experience for each of us. We may indeed be able to change the way we think after we have changed the way we act.[9]

Actions expose attitudes. In vocational education there seems to be a more pessimistic outlook for the future of a significant increase of women in vocational administration. As vocational education has been critized for its inflexibility, the future may produce a time of confrontation rather than development. Increasing not only accessibility but also the appointments of women to decision-making positions has been resolved in other societal arenas by active--positive--commitment to increasing sex fairness.

Status Quo

Women in higher education are moving with increased confidence and support into decision-making positions. However few women faculty members are represented in university vocational-technical departments, and those who are there are primarily in the traditional female-intensive programs. In over fifty years of federal legislation for vocational education, there has been only one woman appointed as permanent state director of vocational education.[10] Another woman wrote of her experiences as acting state director until an acceptable male could be located.[11] On the national level, the visibility of women in leadership positions for vocational education is nil. The representation of women on the National Advisory Council for Vocational Education has been lacking.

The American Vocational Association reinforces the traditional occupational affiliations with the female-intensive and male-intensive divisions carefully delineated. Most national

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[9]Stevenson, Educational Amendments and Implications, p. 9.

[10]James L. Reid to Ellen Bowers, 16 January 1979. Based on information furnished by incumbent state directors of vocational education to the office of Executive Secretary of State Directors Association. A woman director has also held a permanent appointment in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

[11]Mildred Matthews, "The Life and Times of a Woman Administrator," American Vocational Journal 50 (September 1975): 36.

which encourages and expands the opportunities for leadership and visibility for aspiring women. As yet, this support effort has not been initiated for vocational education. Examining another dimension of positive support for women in vocational education in both 1970 and 1974, the American Vocational Journal devoted a complete issue during the year to the status of professional women in vocational eduation. However, if the expectation was for another issue in the next four-year period, it did not occur. Only a lead article in March, 1978, concentrated on the status of professional women. It seems that there has been a diminishing concern for and the dissemination of relevant, timely information relating to professional women in vocational education.

Change

If those in leadership positions in vocational education have recognized the existing and emerging need of women in all areas of vocational education, especially in the administrative arena, it has not been evident. If the past performance is an indication of future expectations, a cloudy one for women who aspire to vocational education administration seems certain. To this point, Miller stated,

> There are many who are outraged to see the power structure exercise blatant disregard for the law, exhibit absolute insensitivity to fairness, and display arrogance by smugly waiting to be safe from compliance with anything from a Bakke case to a changed public attitude that will indicate that no action is needed.[12]

Little actual progress will be recorded in vocational education or other educational endeavors until there is an active commitment to bring about a change on the part of chief administrators at each level--local, state, and national.

Garry D. Hays, Chancellor, Minnesota State University System, opened his address at the March, 1978, American Association for Higher Education Convention with the following:[13]

> As self-evident--even redundant--as it might seem, fundamental to increasing the number of women in administrative positions is an active commitment

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[12]Anita Miller, "Women, Education, and the Future."

[13]Garry D. Hays, "Strategies for Advancing Women in Higher Education," (Paper presented March 1978 at the American Association for Higher Education Convention and at Bryn Mawr/HERS Summer Institute for Women in Higher Education Administration, July 1978), Project on the Status of Women, September 1978, p. 1.

by the governing board and by the chief executive officer.
occasional admissions, publication of affirmative action policies, or assertions on vacancy announcements about being an equal opportunity employer are insufficient.

He further suggests that a predominatly male board is, indeed, not in "a strong position to encourage its administrators to appoint women." It is essential to operationalize commitment goals not only for the entire institution but also for specific levels within the institution. In the current search procedures Hayes views the need of the executive authority to be reactivated. The traditional faculty search committees have not recorded a notable track record in this area. However, he asserts that

> ...little progress will be made...as long as search committees are permitted to offer up three to five names from which the [decision-makers] ... must choose.[14]

Hays illustrated this point with two scenarios relating how women had been appointed to high-level positions in Minnesota's state system; these women should not have been considered under the traditional search committee process.

Hays recommended also that the positions be described in terms of competencies required and less in terms of traditional educational experience and training. A comprehensive review of the position requirements to remove the inflated artificial requirements is greatly needed. Most importantly, if an institution's credibility is to hold, the institution must communicate to women by practice rather than by rhetoric that opportunities are available. Suggested modifications of the search effort itself were proposed.

- visiting prospective candidates early in the search
- developing systematic procedures and national networks with regional underpinnings
- increasing funding for on-the-job training in professional development seminars for women employees
- appointing promising women candidates to positions such as acting dean
- involving more women in ad hoc administrative assignments; and

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[14]Ibid., p. 2.

. establishing support systems for new women administrators

To the women themselves, Hays suggested that knowledge is still power and charged them to read everything they can about the institution and to acquire a thorough understanding of the budget process (parenthetically he offered that male administrators do not understand budgets despite widespread belief to the contrary). Other strategies offered were to seek critical evaluation of your performance in your present position, to carefully analyze where you are and where you want to be, to make and use contacts, be open to different options when applying for another position, and to know about the institution to which application is made. In his closing remarks, Hays returned to the commitment level of top administration by saying,[15]

> ...only when those in positions of authority effectively make these changes will the number of women in administrative positions significantly increase.

Ernest L. Boyer, U.S. Commissioner of Education reinforces Hays' statement while commending the efforts of the vocational sex-equity personnel, he stated

> In the end, however, it is the State Directors of Vocational Education who hold the key. Without their full and unqualified support, the elimination of sex bias and sex stereotyping will not succeed.[16]

Those in authority, the decision-makers, seemingly then are the pivotal point around which the issue of underrepresentation of women in vocational education administration revolves.

A review of the recommendations emanating from the many dissertations, reports, and other publications showed a consistency of thinking in the areas of in-service and pre-service programs, awareness sessions, organization and management development, guidance and counseling efforts, recruiting activities, day-care centers, economic concerns, assertiveness training, etc. However, as one seriously examines these recommendations, commendable as they are, recommendations by themselves are unlikely to cause the decision-maker to sway his/her pattern of finalizing the decisions.

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[15]Ibid., p. 4.

[16]Ernest L. Boyer, "Remarks of Ernest Boyer" (Presented at the 1978 Convention of the American Vocational Association, Dallas, Texas, December 2, 1978), p. 5.

The major recommendation resulting from the review of the literature is a two-pronged redirection for further research and development efforts--

- One aspect for redirection is to focus on strategies and intervention processes based on external and internal influences for affecting a change orientation in decision-makers.

- The second aspect for redirection follows naturally. It is to examine the benefits accruing to vocational education as women are appointed to decision-making positions.

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